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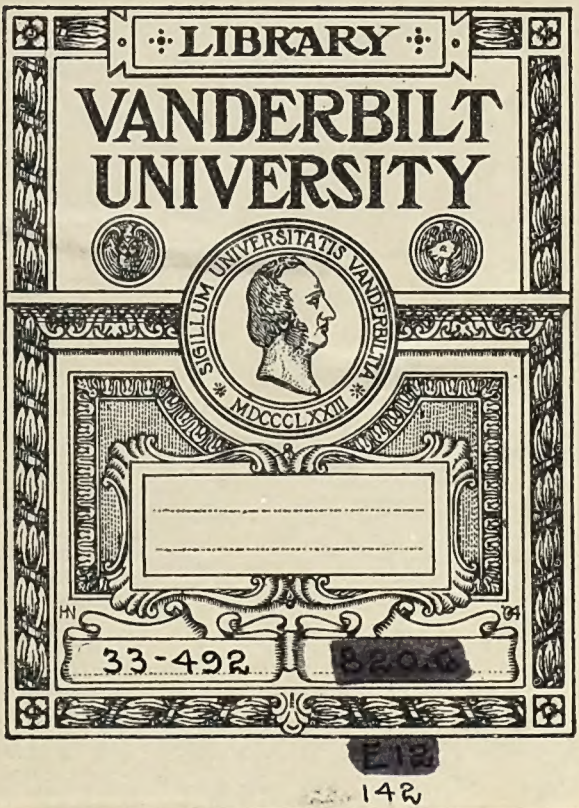

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The English Register of Godstow Nunnery.

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The English Register

of

Godstow Nunnery, near Oxford,

WRITTEN ABOUT 1450.

EDITED, WITH AN INTRODUCTION,

BY

ANDREW CLARK,

M.A., LINCOLN COLLEGE, OXFORD; M.A. AND LL.D. ST. ANDREWS;
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FOREWORDS

Prefixed pieces.

The first portion of the MS. is occupied with Englishings, mostly in verse, of a number of those liturgical pieces which are prefixed to most redactions of the Breviary. These suggest that the writer had proposed to himself the Englishing of the whole breviary, but abandoned his task in order to give the nuns of Godstow an English key to their cartulary.

Commination service.

Of the first piece, most unfortunately, only the latter half is preserved, two leaves at the beginning of the MS. having been cut out. This is an English exposition, in many sections, of offences which involved the greater excommunication. To each section is added, in much abbreviated Latin, a reference to some authoritative treatise in Canon Law, as a justification of the censure contained in it. The authorities cited are the Decretals (1230), the Clementines (1308), and the later Extravagants (cited as Ex*tra.*), with various Constitutions, e.g. those of the legate Octobon or Othobon (1231) and of Archbishop John de Stratford (1343). The citation is always by the first word of the particular head or chapter referred to. Thus, in the fragment, the references to the Clementines contain the citations :—*Religiosi*, i.e. lib. v, tit. vii, cap. i; *Cupientes inde*, lib. v, tit. viii, cap. iii; and *Gravis*, lib. v, tit. x, cap. ii. The citation from the Constitution of Stratford, *Accidit* [*novitate perversa*], is found in the Provinciale lib. iii, tit. xxviii. The tractate closes with the formula by which excommunication was pronounced on all persons guilty of the offences specified, and on all who gave such offenders countenance or support.

In the pre-Reformation church a Commination service of this kind was publicly read four times in the year. Full information on the subject will be found in Canon Christopher Wordsworth's

admirable *Salisbury Ceremonies and Processions* (Cambridge, 1901). Many redactions of the service are found in MSS. and have been printed in liturgical treatises. Thus, one is found in E. Peacock's Myre's *Instructions to Parish Priests* (E.E.T.S., 1902 revision), pp. 60–7. In Canon Wordsworth's book, just cited, two copies are printed, a shorter English one at pp. 44–6 and a much longer Latin one at pp. 242–55. In contents and style the fragment here printed has a general resemblance to both of these, but it is possessed of greater dignity of tone, in virtue of laying less stress on merely pecuniary offences in respect of tithes and offerings. Its concluding formula also has a clause, vividly descriptive of the ceremony of dashing out the light of the candle, which is strangely absent from the long Salisbury *Excommunicatio* (Wordsworth, *l. c.*, p. 244).

One section of this fragment, inasmuch as it touches on a matter referred to in the Godstow deeds, may claim separate notice. We have, in a severely condensed form, the well-known condemnation of four trespasses committed by monks and friars, partly against the jurisdiction of the parish clergy, partly against the authority of the pope. These are (*a*) administering the sacraments of the eucharist, extreme unction, and marriage, to parishioners, without leave of the parish priest; (*b*) granting, without licence from the pope, absolution to persons excommunicate; (*c*) pressing people to appoint for the place of their burial a conventual church (as in nos. 84 and 232) in preference to their parish church; (*d*) threatening eternal punishment, as for perjury, to such as had agreed to be buried in a conventual church but afterwards wished to withdraw from their promise in order to be buried in their parish church. The motive power in these last cases was the desire for fees for the burial and accompanying services, and the possibility of permanent endowment for such commemorative services, obits or chantries, as will presently be described. In the Salisbury *Articuli maioris excommunicationis* the section devoted to these four offences occupies a page and a half of small print.

I owe the warmest thanks to Canon Wordsworth for his patience and pains in instructing me as to these matters of liturgical use and Canon Law, which lay altogether beyond the horizon of my knowledge, and also for most valued information about the kalendar and other matters, both liturgical and historical.

Devotional verses.

The Commination service is followed by ten devotional pieces of length varying from a single stanza to eleven stanzas. They are all written in a stanza of seven lines *a b a b b c c*. Most of the lines have five iambics, but a few have only four.

The first poem is an acrostic *Invocation to the Cross*. Its first line begins with the symbol ✠, standing for the words 'O Cross!', and is not included in the lettering. Twenty lines follow, being the letters A–I, K–T, W. A fourth stanza completes the poem of twenty-eight lines. This contains an oddly expressed reference to the *Title* (on the cross) written by *Pontius* (Pilate).

Next come metrical expositions of several devotional exercises, found prefixed to the breviary, viz. in this order, *In nomine Patris; Pater noster; Ave, Maria; Credo; Confiteor; Misereatur mei; In manus tuas; Benedic, Domine,* joined with *Agimus tibi gratias; Retribuere dignare:* and the series is closed by a stanza expanding a versicle of the Burial Office, *Animae omnium fidelium*. Prose versions of several of these are found in T. F. Simmons's *Lay Folks Mass Book* (E.E.T.S., 1879) and in H. Littlehales's *Prymer or Lay Folks Prayer Book* (E.E.T.S., 1895–7).

The Kalendar.

A kalendar follows, arranged in four columns, written with elaborate rubrications. These rubricated letters are here indicated by heavier (Clarendon) type. In the MS. these letters are in some places two lines high, in others four; but it has been thought enough to indicate this feature by brackets.

In the first column are placed the Golden Numbers, which provided a perpetual lunar kalendar. Sir Harris Nicolas's *Chronology of History* (1838), pp. 82–94, explains the method by which these gave, for any year in Old Style, the day in each month on which there was New Moon.

The second column gives the seven Dominical Letters, A–G, which marked the days of the week. Their use is explained in Nicolas, *l. c.*, p. 30. The year was classed according to the letter of its first Sunday. In 1440, e.g., January 2 being a Sunday, the year had B for its Dominical Letter.

In the third column we have the Roman kalendar, marked by Kl^{s} (Kalends), N^{s} (Nones), and Id^{s} (Ides), as it is still given, for convenience of reference, in the yearly issues of Whitaker's and other Almanacs.

The fourth column contains the Church kalendar in metre. The writer's object was to get in, on the right day, as many names of fixed Holy Days as the trammels of metre and rime would permit. Canon Wordsworth has pointed out to me that the kalendar is pure Sarum, and that the mentions of Sixtus on Aug. 6 and of Donatus on Aug. 7, mark it as earlier than the introduction (about 1457) of *Transfiguratio Domini* on the former and of *Festum nominis Iesu* on the latter day. It is to be noticed that in May, besides the fixed Saints' Days, four of the Movable Feasts are given, Ascension, Whitsuntide, Trinity Sunday, and Corpus Christi Day, on the 5th, 15th, 22nd, and 26th. This marks the year as being of the type 'Almanac 6' in Augustus de Morgan's *Book of Almanacs* (1871). The years of that type were 1407, 1418, 1429, 1440, 1502, 1513, 1524. Since the Register which follows is of date 1450, the probability is that the versifier had before him a kalendar constructed for the year 1440. Two other Movable Feasts are brought in, Relic Sunday, which is the third Sunday after Midsummer Day (June 24), and Advent Sunday, which is the Sunday nearest St. Andrew's Day (Nov. 30). In this kalendar, Relic Sunday is noted on July 12, and Advent Sunday on Dec. 1, a combination which cannot occur in any year. It has been pointed out to me that the constructor of the kalendar, in inserting *Festum Reliquiarum* or *Adventus Domini*, would merely look out for those days nearest July 7 and Nov. 30 which commemorated no specially important saints, and then write in his two feasts as best suited his verses. Open days for this purpose, i.e. days not of obligation, are July 8, 9, 12, 13, 14, Dec. 1, 2, 3. I may note, however, that in 1443 Advent Sunday was on Dec. 1, and in 1444 Relic Sunday was on July 12. So that, for a novice at kalendar-making, 1445 seems a likely date for the construction of the kalendar.

Some minor points may be touched on. Gabriel the Archangel is named on March 28, the usual day being March 26; but I learn from Canon Wordsworth that there was much dispute as to the day and the form of this commemoration. If the Utas (Octave)

were to be taken strictly as the seventh day after the festival, then the Utas of the Assumption (Aug. 20) is displaced, as also the Utas of the Nativity of Mary (Sept. 10). 'In the Octaves' was, however, vaguely used for any of the seven days after the festival, a sufficient excuse for concessions to metrical requirements or to the rudder-power of rime. On September 15 we seem to have invocation of the prayers of a martyr (unnamed). Nicomedes commemorated on that day is not styled martyr, so there may be a reference back to *Cornelius et Cyprianus, Martyres*, whose commemoration on Sept. 14 is shut out by the mention of *Exaltatio Crucis*. Edmund, canonized Archbishop of Canterbury, is styled (Nov. 16), 'of Pounteney,' from Pontigny, the monastery to which he was travelling to enter it as a monk when death cut short his journey at Soisy. Etheldreda, June 23, has the addition 'of Ely', the versifier remembering that she was patroness of that minster. Botulph, singularly enough, occurs not only on his own festival, June 17, but also on July 16, his trental (no. 99), *mense*, or month's mind. It so happens that his appearance there provides a handy rime for Arnulph (July 18), but one is unwilling to suppose the versifier so beggared of invention as to be reduced to this shift, and the query may be made whether he was connected with some St. Botulph's church or convent.

The kalendar is written in the same seven-line stanza *a b a b b c c*, as the poems which precede it. One line is strictly given to one day, and, as a consequence, at the month's end, the stanza is arbitrarily divided between the month ending and the month beginning. To provide a line for the odd 365th day the last stanza has eight lines, *a b a b b c b c*.

Some quaint things occur in this kalendar, and may be brought together here. Dancing is insisted on, with some frequency, as one of the joys of the saints in bliss: see Jan. 9, Feb. 15, June 2, July 19, Sept. 1, Oct. 14, 31, Nov. 12, 25, 28. Feasting occurs just half that number of times: June 14, Sept. 23, 27, Nov. 21, Dec. 28. Singing is brought in on Jan. 18, Oct. 14, Dec. 14; and games on July 23. Special instruments of music are assigned to certain saints, a harp to Leonard (Nov. 7), a psaltery to Theodore (Nov. 9), and a lute to Brice (Nov. 13). There are two allusions to flowers, May 9, Oct. 24; and possibly one to cherries, July 9. Oct. 16, 17, have a strangely worded metaphor from riding. To

the veneration of the saints is extended the custom of choosing valentines, Feb. 17, 20, 26, Aug. 20, Oct. 29, Nov. 24; and even a page's office in bearing up his lady's train, July 21.

The English Register of Godstow.

In 1404 there was compiled for the use of Godstow Abbey a Latin cartulary, which is now in the Public Records Office (Exchequer: King's Remembrancer; Miscellaneous Books, volume 20) and may be cited as the Exchequer MS. or the Latin Register. Soon afterwards the Abbey found it convenient to have an English version, which is now in the Bodleian Library (MS. Rawlinson B. 408), and may be cited as the English Register. In the present edition all the documents contained in this English MS. are given, with the faithfulness to the MS. text and the care to mark its features letter by letter which are looked for in the issues of the Early English Text Society.

Although of somewhat late date (1450, with additions 1460–70), this MS. is not without a claim to rank as a mile-stone of the language. It stands by itself, in its own age, as an attempt, deliberately begun and carried right through to the finish, to shake off the fetters of Latin, and use English speech for English folk in the management of English land. If we look to what follows, we find it a far-off forerunner of the good sense of the Commonwealth leaders, who, during their brief authority, caused the records of manorial courts, which were so largely concerned with land-transfers, to be kept in English. The final triumph of the principle which was put forward by this English Register as early as Edward IV was withheld till the reign of George I, when the wearisome law-Latin, which had returned at the Restoration, was finally laid aside.

Defects of the MS.

A perusal of the English Register showed that twelve of its closely-written leaves had been cut out. This mutilation is later than the old paging of the leaves by Roman numbers, but earlier than the modern paging by Arabic numbers. A summary of the missing deeds so far as they can be recovered from the Latin Register has been given, in the places where they come in naturally, but the gaps are not completely filled, because the Latin copy

ends imperfectly, some sheets at least being missing between its last leaf (190, mismarked CC) and the fly-leaves. From these fly-leaves notes have been taken, and made use of, about other deeds, which explain heads in the Confirmation Charters that were otherwise unaccounted for. When all has been done, however, there are still some properties mentioned (e.g. the town of Oxford's gift, 878 § 22 : rent-charges at Winchester, 902 § 59), about which we have no deeds.

A minute examination of the English text showed scores of places in which, even where the MS. was intact, there was plainly omission or error of some sort. Comparison with the Latin has cleared up most of these places, and accounted for the obscurity.

(A) Omissions of single words, of two or three words together, even of whole lines, occur. These faults may possibly be set down to a careless copyist.

(B) In other places, words were intruded which had no place in the Latin. The translator had blundered, apparently by recollection of some name or fact in an allied deed, which had no place in the deed he was then translating (e.g., no. 5).

(C) The Latin word had been misread, and so misrendered: e.g. *domo*, being read *dono* (no. 672), was given as 'yifte' when it should have been 'house'; and *donum* being read *domum* (no. 265), was given as 'house' when it should have been 'yifte'.

(D) The Latin is misrendered both in words and in construction. Thus, Henry II (886 § 42) gave Godstow, at Pattishall, Northamptonshire, *vaccaria cum pastura*, a cow-house with attached pasture-land. The translator, thinking of church matters, has made this into the 'vicariage', though, oddly enough, in Celestine III's confirmation (902 § 37), he has not only the right meaning, but apparently coins a word (the *cowry*) to express it. A dative *ecclesie* taken is (110) as genitive, and translated 'of the church' instead of 'to the church', thereby darkening a whole paragraph.

(E) The translator not only Englishes, but abridges, and in so doing falls into many snares. The Latin, retaining with the full forms the *I* and *my* of the grantor, is in no danger of confusion with the grantee, who is always in the third person. The translator causes obscurity by making both grantor and grantee third persons, and causes error by forgetting that the grantor is often a female. *Of him, to him, he, his,* constantly usurp the place of the feminine

pronouns. In at least one place (273), the opposite fault is found, *sche* and *here* appearing where *he* and *his* ought to be read.

The linguistic analysis, which must come when the text is printed, will tabulate these and other sources of error or confusion. Meanwhile, where such faults have hopelessly darkened the text, short footnotes supply the required corrections.

(F) The translator has been especially careless in his dates. He has thrown aside the approximate dates given in the lists of witnesses[1] to the earlier deeds, falling back on a parrot-like repetition of the formula 'and is without date'. He has even added this formula to several deeds which are dated. He has, in places, put 'Edward the son of king Edward', i.e. Edward II, where the right date must be, and is (in the Latin), 'Edward the son of king Henry,' i.e. Edward I. It is much to be regretted that a text, in itself so pithy, and possessed of so racy an English smack, has by its faults occasioned many footnotes referring to what ought to have been the superfluous Latin.

(G) In a few places the errors of the English copy come from repeating the faults of the Latin. Thus, we have (568) an 'acre' which measures 15 ft. × 26 ft.; but the Latin rubric also has 'acra', a plain error for 'area'.

Arrangement of the deeds.

The compiler of the Latin Register had marked out for himself a natural, and (in conventual cartularies) a usual, order: giving first, the deeds connected with the foundation; then, deeds connected with the estates taken in alphabetical order; and lastly, the general charters. This plan was faultily carried out. A good many charters escaped his first search, and these were brought in at the end, in an appendix whose bulk we cannot estimate because the MS. ends imperfectly. No care was taken within each head to put the deeds about estates into order of time. Among the general charters, on the principle of putting the best foot first, the fullest charter of a sovereign or of the pope was given precedence, and the earlier charters made to follow it.

The writer of the English Register, since his main object was to furnish the nuns with a key to the Latin Register, necessarily followed

[1] The 'Continuator' who has added renderings of the deeds about Bozeat, Langford, Wytham, which are not in the Latin Register, does give the witnesses.

its order (no. 1). Some accident, however, when the sheets were loose, has thrust portions of the estate-deeds out of their place in the alphabet. The appendix, of places not included in the alphabetical series, has grown, in the English Register, to a formidable length. It seemed better, therefore, when giving the deeds the permanence of print, to adopt for them a true alphabetical order, i. e. by counties, and in each county, by parishes. This being decided on, a further rearrangement seemed advisable, namely to put the deeds in each compartment into true order of time, or, where they were many or vague, to portion them out under some natural heads. The gain in clearness is very great, and more than compensates for the tedious marginal repetition of references to the leaves of the MS.

I cannot pass from this part of these forewords without expressing my very great debt to my old friend and fellow-worker, Mr. Herbert Hurst. He not only has made repeated visits to the Public Records Office to look up doubtful places and obscure deeds in the Latin original; he has also most unselfishly put at my disposal his annotated list of witnesses to the Oxford deeds, and given me the fruits of his many years' observation of objects found in excavations at Godstow. In fact, he has laboured for this edition as if it had been his own, and given it the advantage of a local knowledge which he alone possessed.

History of the MS.

In their original form, the number and nature of the evidences of a religious house made them hard to consult. Each individual holding, however small, had its own bundle of parchment deeds, of all sizes, encumbered with seals. Such a bundle contained not only the deed by which the property came to the convent, but also necessary confirmations by the grantor's relatives and feudal or ecclesiastical superiors, and, in many cases, the deeds which had constituted his title to it (cp. nos. 381 and 508), also copies of leases by which the convent had farmed it out, and records of lawsuits which its possession had led to. If we think of a large charter-chest containing some hundreds of such bundles, we can imagine the difficulty of discovering at short notice any one particular deed, and the certainty of displacement of deeds if the bundles were frequently consulted.

This difficulty was surmounted by writing into a big parchment

book the more important of the deeds, in the order of the parishes in which the properties lay. The provision of this Register or Cartulary was often the benefaction of the head or some superior officer of the monastery, and is found mentioned with just respect as a gift not inferior to improvement of, or addition to, the conventual buildings or estates. This was the case at Godstow. Prefixed to the Table of Contents of the Latin Register is the statement that the volume was compiled in 5 Henry IV, 1404, Margaret Mounteneye being then abbess, at the charges of, and by the 'labour' of, Alice of Henley, then prioress.

This Latin Register, being a necessary instrument for the management of the estates, was taken into the Exchequer Office when these were confiscated in 1540. It is a business-like volume, a shade over 13 inches high by 9 inches wide, enclosed in two stout wooden boards, which, after being enveloped in soft white leather, were covered with a strong flexible black leather wrapper, with a large flap to overlap the opening. The present make-up of the MS. is (*a*) 4 fly-leaves with transcripts of deeds and other jottings; (*b*) 8 leaves of a good Table of Contents (absent from the English Register); (*c*) leaves I to CLXXXIX followed by a leaf wrongly marked CC; (*d*) 4 fly-leaves, with jottings. Parchment-slips are fastened by threads to several leaves. The last deed (no. 853 in this edition) on leaf CC ends in the middle of its list of witnesses with *et multis aliis*, written as a catch-word. The writing is the clear close hand of a professional scribe. The utmost economy of parchment has been observed, the rubric of one deed beginning wherever the text of the preceding deed ends. The entire absence of interval suggests that, in the fifteenth century, as miserly use was made of writing-material, as (in Tennyson's phrase) of time in the nineteenth century 'when every hour must sweat its sixty minutes to the death'. The initial letters are slightly flowered, and have been rubbed over with a yellow pigment.

In the Exchequer, the volume came under the scrutiny of the much-searching Oxford antiquary Brian Twyne, who made excerpts from it (Twyne's MS. xxiv. 232–43: Wood's *Life and Times*, iv. 216), which were used by Anthony Wood in the compilation of his Survey of Oxford City.

The English Register carries us a step further. Its *Prologue* quaintly tells, that the nuns, although inexpert at translating

Latin, were keen managers of their estates. It was therefore a vexation to them that they had to ask help from outsiders when they wanted to know the exact terms of a deed in order to give directions to their bailiff or rent-gatherer. For this reason 'a pore brodur and welwyller' to the convent made an English key of the Latin Register, Alice of Henley (see p. xxiv) being then abbess.

At the dissolution this English Register, being merely a duplicate of the authoritative Latin Register, was allowed to pass into private hands, possibly, in the first instance, of George Owen, Henry VIII's physician, who acquired Godstow from the Crown. Early in James I's reign we find it made use of by Brian Twyne, who has a few excerpts from it in vol. xxi of his MS. Collections. About the same time notes were taken from it by an otherwise unknown antiquary, Randall Catherall, and these, in 1616, were copied (Wood's *Life and Times*, ii. 354–5) by Robert Sanderson, afterwards Bishop of Lincoln, as good an antiquary as he was logician and casuist, but the destruction of his MS. Collections has 'robbed his chaplet of a rose'. In whose hands the volume then was does not appear. We next hear of the volume as owned successively by Sir James Ware (died 1666); by Henry Hyde, 2nd earl of Clarendon (died 1709); by Dr. Richard Rawlinson (died 1755), who gave it, with his other MSS., to the Bodleian. Rawlinson bought MSS. too extensively to keep watch over the honesty of persons who brought him MS. papers for sale. As a result, many scattered papers by Anthony Wood, stolen from ill-guarded boxes in the Ashmolean Library, came into his hands. Among these was Wood's rude sketch (reproduced in Wood's *Life and Times*, i. 346) of 'Godstow Nunnery taken from the East, 1666'. This, Rawlinson inserted in the Godstow English Register.

The presence of this sketch in the volume has produced the misleading belief that at one time the volume was Anthony Wood's. As a matter of fact, Wood had never seen the English Register, and knew of it only by Twyne's excerpts and by the Catherall-Sanderson notes. This circumscribed knowledge led innocent Anthony into a set of blunders, which it would have delighted ill-natured Tom Hearne to expose, and which furnish an amusing paragraph for the chapter that will tell of the pitfalls in which antiquaries have been taken. Twyne hastily copied from Henry II's confirmation charters two passages which seemed to refer to Oxford.

Henry II (879 §§ 29, 30) confirms to Godstow 'The chirche of Dantesbourne with-oute the south-yate of Oxenford, one mansion that Eylwyne fitz Godegose yaf with the pertynentis', &c. He also (886 § 47) confirms 'Of the yifte of henry of Oxenford one hide of land in Walton Of the yifte of William Venuȝ one mylle and his lond with-oute the north yate'. Wood, having justly the fullest confidence in Twyne's accuracy, felt it necessary to bring both statements into the topography of Oxford. Accordingly, in Wood's *City of Oxford*, i. 416, ii. 47–8, Dantesbourne is treated at length as an Oxford church, with conjectures as to the derivation of the name and speculations as to how the church and parish had utterly vanished from Oxford tradition. The mill also (*ibid.* i. 407–8) appears as an Oxford mill, and, to supply motive-power to work it, Wood magnifies the north ditch of Oxford into a river with full stream. Reference to the charters in this edition will show that, in the first case, the omission of a stop has moved Dantesbourne from Gloucestershire into Oxford, and, in the second place, the dropping of a line, after jumbling together the mill of Empshott in Hampshire and the north gate of Winchester, has dumped down the misleading product outside Oxford. A third error of Wood's is less excusable. Finding in Twyne's notes that Boy-mill, east of Oxford, was an early possession of Godstow (Wood's *City of Oxford*, i. 402), he unhesitatingly adds that it 'continued to them till about the time of their dissolution'. He forgets the exchange (no. 510) made in 1358, which he must have come across in his perusal of the cartulary of St. Frideswyde's Priory.

The English Register, like its Latin original, is a plain volume for everyday use. It is a shade less than 13 × 9 inches, and its rubrics are practically its only ornament. In this edition these are indicated by heavier type. The handwriting of the English Register is very similar to that of the Latin Register, and is clearly of not much later date.

History of Godstow.

Godstow Abbey, begun (no. 2) in the last years of Henry I, was consecrated, $113\frac{8}{9}$, in the beginning of Stephen's reign. The foundress, Edyve Launcelene, a Winchester lady, became the first abbess. Katherine Bulkeley, abbess at the dissolution, 1540, appears as twenty-fourth on the list (p. xxv), but this list is imperfect.

The site chosen was an island about three miles from the north-gate of Oxford, just inside the franchises or territorial jurisdiction of that town. This island was bounded by two small branches of Thames, but the main stream of Thames flowed past the next island to it on the east, and came within a stone's-cast of the south-eastern corner of the nunnery. On the first eastern rise of the ground from the river-flats is the Oxfordshire village of Wolvercote (nos. 767–78); right opposite, on the first western slope, is the Berkshire village of Wytham (nos. 28–49). The seclusion of the place is now destroyed by the towing-path which crosses the conventual burying-ground, and skirts a canal formed by widening the eastern boundary-stream.

In summer-days Godstow was no doubt, as it is now, a pleasant, as well as a quiet, spot. But in wet weather, although the island itself is just above flood-level, dreary stretches of submerged meadow must have lain round it on all sides. In 1540, it is recorded (*Monast.* iv. 370) that 89 acres of demesne-meadow, presumably hard by the abbey, were liable to flood. At the present day raised causeways and long foot-bridges of planks ought to suggest to summer visitors the regular winter flooding of the eastern and western approaches.

About the buildings very little is said in the Register. The consecration charter (no. 4) passes a high encomium on the foundress Edyve, 'that noble modyr, that with hyr propur labour, costys, and almys, edified the sayd churche . . . fro the fyrst ston.' Here, 'church' means the whole range of conventual buildings as they stood at the dedication in 1139. The translator, however, in cutting short the bishop's long-winded Latin, has left out an essential part of one clause, which mentions contributions from contemporaries of the foundress. 'Almys,' above, in the English is so put as to appear a description of Edyve's own gift: but the Latin is 'collatisque *fidelium* elemosinis'. At the same time we may readily allow that Edyve's contribution was a considerable one. She was the only child of wealthy parents. Even supposing her son to have taken his father's estate to Abingdon abbey when he became a monk there, Edyve had her own patrimony to bestow on Godstow when she and her two daughters became nuns.

The great conventual church (no. 6) was perhaps a later structure than the 1139 fabric. Its western tower stood till the great gale of

Jan. 1, 1764 (Hurst's *Oxford Topography*, 1899, p. 119). According to local tradition the stones were then used to make a new road to Wytham. At the City Public Library, Oxford, are preserved three pieces of stone-carving from Godstow. Two of them are of the Early English period, somewhat late in the style with delicate dog-tooth ornament. No authentic drawing shows elaborate work on the tower, so they perhaps came from the interior of the church. These two fragments were recovered from the eastern arch of Toll Bridge near Godstow. The third fragment was fished out of the river not far from the south-east angle of the convent. It is of a different kind of stone, and the foliage on it may confidently be dated about 1260–80.

By the side of the great church, stood a range of buildings, distinct from the convent proper, which tradition calls The Guesten Hall. Here probably we are to look for those rooms which were assigned to aged servants and others who had obtained (no. 608) corrodies from the abbey.

In the 1885 excavations a few bits of Decorated moulding were unearthed. We may conclude that, at Godstow, as elsewhere, building operations, in the shape of repairs, rebuildings, additions went on throughout its history, each age leaving its impress on the fabric.

The most conspicuous extant fragment of the convent proper is the domestic chapel at the south-east corner, whose walls still show the nuns' entrance from the convent enclosure and an entrance from outside for such visitors as were allowed to attend the services. This is of fifteenth-century work, and its eastern window even of slightly later date, possibly altered and beautified, as Mr. Hurst thinks, by a benefaction of Richard Fox, Bishop of Winchester 1500–28.

In the deeds the conduit, which supplied the convent with water, is the building which receives most notice (nos. 28–30). A note attached (pp. 45, 46) to these deeds describes the conventual fish-ponds and the stream which served them.

The chapter-house is mentioned (nos. 6, 153, 180) as the room where business was discussed and the abbey seal attached to deeds. It has so completely disappeared that its site is matter of mere guess.

The refectory or dining-hall, in these deeds called the 'froiture', and the kitchen, are mentioned in connexion with the 'pittances', or special dining-allowances, which will presently be noticed.

The froiture occurs, nos. 374–6; the kitchen, nos. 249–50, 845, 859, 865.

The 'infirmary' is the recipient of special benefactions to promote the comfort of sick nuns (52, 250). It also owned lands in St. Giles's, Oxford, nos. 536, 619, 630, which probably came to it by special bequest, though the gift of them is not recorded.

The burial-ground lay along the very brink of the eastern boundary-stream. In 1885–6 this stream was widened some feet on both sides, and the old lock, at the point where it joined the main stream of Thames, was enlarged to enable boats more easily to go up beyond Godstow. In the excavations then made, over twenty stone coffins and some eight oak coffins were unearthed, and reburied somewhat nearer the convent wall. The crosses on the lids of the stone coffins were of three types, belonging to different ages. The ends of some were of a plain spade-shape; of others, square with slight tracery in the inner corners; of others, cross-croslets: i. e.

Large numbers of encaustic tiles were then dug up, telling of highly ornamented floors ruthlessly torn up and buried in holes. Eighty pieces, carefully examined, showed fifty different patterns. The coarseness of the clay of some assigned them to the twelfth century. Among the emblems was a crowned lion, passant gardant from the left, whose archaic form suggested the reign of Stephen. Some of the fleurs-de-lis were also of a type as early as Henry II's time. A favourite tracery was a cross within a quatrefoil, both of very varied types, suggesting long intervals of time between their making. The colours showed many combinations, yellow on brown, yellow on brown and grey, yellow on red, olive on brown and black, dark red on yellow, &c. Mr. Hurst has some of these in his possession, and has copied in colours many others in his large MS. collections for Oxford.

The dwelling-house, into which the nunnery had been converted, was burnt down, May 23, 1645, during the operations connected with the siege of Oxford.

The walls which now show at Godstow are chiefly of two dates. During the civil war, perhaps in the winter of 1642, much of the buildings was pulled down to provide material for a wall, loop-holed for musketry, which extended from close by the west gate to the stream which supplied the fish-ponds, so enclosing a field protected on north and east by wall, and on west and south by the stream. These loop-holes have since been built up, but the newer masonry shows their position (Hurst's *Oxford Topography*, p. 119).

At a later period, most of what remained of the buildings was pulled down to convert the nunnery-quadrangle into a large enclosure with sheds for cattle. Built into a cow-house which stands at the south-west angle are two pieces of Norman work, presumably of Stephen's age. The east wall of the enclosure is capped with several stones, apparently of carved work, but the mason has put their backs outside.

Abbesses of Godstow.

It will be convenient to have a corrected list of abbesses, with the dates at which they are mentioned.

Edyve, the foundress, 1135–86.
E., second abbess (once mentioned, no. 203).
Agnes, died 1195 or 1196; see no. 713.
Juliana, 1197–1210.
Felicia (*or* Aunphelice) de Bade, 1216–30.
Flandryne, occurs 1242, deposed 1248.
Emma (*or* Emyne) Bluet, 1248–66.
Isold de Derham, 1270–2.
Rose Oxhay, 1280.
Mabel Wafre, 1284–94.
Alice Gorges, 1296–1304.
Maud Upton, 1306–15.
Margery Dyne, 1318–32.
Maud Beauchamp, 1338.
Agnes Streteley, 1350–73.
Margery Tracy, 1375.
Margaret Mounteneye, 1386–1404.
Elizabeth Felmersham, 1412.
Agnes of Wytham, 1425.
Alice of Henley, 1464.

Katherine Field, 1480–93.
Isabel of Braynton, 1494.
Margaret of Tewkesbury, 1518.
Katherine Bulkeley, *alias* Bewmaris, 1535–40.

Prioresses of Godstow.

The prioress acted as head of the convent in the absence of the abbess (790), and in cases where the abbess was a party to the business (659), and therefore could not act. Very few names occur.

Emma and Havis, daughters of the foundress, are said (2) to have been the first and the second to hold this office. Laura of Hakington, prioress (659) in 1294, was a benefactress (660). Alice of Henley, prioress in 1404, paid for the compiling of the Latin Register (p. xviii).

Nuns and their dower.

Godstow was founded (2) for twenty-four nuns. The inmates at the dissolution were short of that number. It often happened that several ladies of the same family were nuns at Godstow at the same time, as e.g. two or more sisters (291), mother and daughters (2, 232), aunts and nieces (32). There is an instance of a wife leaving her husband to enter the convent (25).

A nun, at her admission, brought to the convent her portion, exactly as she would have taken it to a husband, if she had married. Such portions formed a constant, and at times a not inconsiderable, addition to the endowment of the convent, which thus grew, like the coral islands, by the additions made by its inmates.

The sum of £13 6*s.* 8*d.* seems in one place (531) put forward as the amount sufficient for a nun's portion, a woman there bargaining, possibly with her guardian, that 'whan she wold entir religion' he should give her 'xx. marke into subsidie'. In place of payments in money we find a great variety of equivalents. In some cases the relatives provided for the nun, by bestowing on Godstow a pension from a church in the patronage of the family, with the reversion of the patronage. Dantesborne church, Gloucestershire, was given (154–5) by the Bloets because they had 'sette there her sistur to serue God and seint Iohn'. A deed printed in *Monasticon*, iv. 365, shows that the occasion of Simon of Wahel's gift (878 § 14) of

the moiety of Pattishall church, Northamptonshire, was the sending of his two daughters Mary and Cicely to be nuns at Godstow at the time of the foundation (4). In 1214 (*ibid.*) Bishop Hugh of Wells ordained in Pattishall church a perpetual vicarage, of which Godstow was to have the patronage and, of course, its own half of the rectorial revenue. In 1540 (*ibid.* p. 376) Godstow drew £5 6*s.* 8*d.* from Pattishall rectory, out of which it had to pay £1 to the deacon who served in the church. Rent-charges were a common provision for ladies taking the veil. We have 'ii. shelyngworthe of rent' in Tormarton, Gloucestershire, as the portion (193) of Alice of Muton; a rent-charge on a mill, as the portion (863) of a daughter of Peter of Brimelingham; and 'one marke of rente in Oxenforde' brought (517–19) by Maud Durand, widow, when she 'toke the habit of religion'. Most frequent of all are grants of houses and land. When the wife of the squire of Seckworth took the veil, she brought (25) to the convent a meadow and the tithe of her husband's two mills. 'The isle' at Godstow itself came (767) with Agas of Euerci. Middle-ei, a meadow at Wytham, was acquired (32) with three daughters of the lord of Wytham, and other five acres of meadow with their two nieces. The meadow at Petham (864) came with a daughter of Alan of Leigh. Hugh of Great Tew gave (513–14) 'ix. shillings-worth' of land, in Oxford, with his daughter. At Winchester, Godstow got land and houses as the dower (236) of Robert of Meisi's daughter, and a rent-charge (237) as that of Odelena St. Quintin. Lands at Bletchingdon, Oxfordshire, were the portions of two daughters (291) of Roger of St. Amaury; of a daughter (290) of Walter of Perry; and (292–3) of a daughter of Robert son of Nigel. Lands in Gloucestershire came through Isabel of Bourton (144) and Agatha of Teyden (187). In Wiltshire Godstow acquired property with Alice of Venuȝ (202) and with Rohays la baanc and her daughter Cecily (232). In All Saints parish, Oxford, 'one selde, with a stalle afore and a celere undir' provided for Mariote Hore (560). Ralph Chendut took something off the price (76) which Godstow paid for 'the land called Anfric' in Buckinghamshire in consideration of Godstow's making his sister-in-law Kate 'mynchon in the monasteri of Godstowe with the costys of the hows'.

Special foundations at Godstow.

This seems a suitable place to bring together some notices of matters connected with Godstow, which are of no value when they are scattered about in the separate deeds, but when collected into one place explain some features of conventual life—viz. the corrodies, the obits, the chantries: to which may be added a few special benefactions.

Corrodies at Godstow.

We have several instances of corrodies, that is, of grants of board and lodging for life-term by the abbey in return for the surrender of the applicant's estate to the convent. There were two grades of corrody, one giving the status, dress, and food of a nun, the other the place and allowances of a servant. On surrender (652) by Alice Southam of her property in St. Mary's parish, Oxford, Godstow gave her 'a corodye of 1 mynchon for euer in the abbey of Godestowe'. Stephen, son of Warin the miller (530), conveyed his Oxford property to Godstow, on the abbey undertaking to pay his debts, and granting 'to hym and to his wyf Molde, with ther seruant to serve them while they lived, two corrodies of ii. mynchons, and a corrodye of one seruant to ther susteynynge'. Part of the buildings at Godstow (possibly The Guesten Hall: p. xxii) may have been set aside to provide rooms for women and aged men admitted on this footing. Alison of Walton, on surrender (608) of meadow-land, was granted 'to the terme of her lyf 1 chambre to dwelle in, the which John masun first enhabited in'. The corrody granted to servants sometimes provided for continuance of service to the abbey. Ralph ben, of Bloxham, surrendered his lands and divested himself of power to make a will, obtaining (314) in return a grant of 'mete and drynke as longe as he leuyd in her hows of Godestowe, or where so euer he were, in there fre service, also halfe a marke of syluer yerly', on condition of never being 'convicte uppon ony cryme or trespas'. Richard Grene, of Cassington, surrendered (420) his lands in return for 'the seruyce under the porter for ever at the yate of Godestowe, and 1 half mark in the name of his wagis yerely'.

Corrodies and their analogues.

Such corrodies by a religious house had their counterpart in like grants of maintenance for life-term made by private persons in return for surrender of lands. At Meysey-Hampton Robert Senle and his wife Isabel sold (181) their lands to one John, promising as part payment 'to the same John resonable necessaries of the frutes of the said lond al so longe as he lived, in metis and drynkes and in howses of the forsaid lond'. Similarly, Hugh paumer, taking over (531) the Oxford property of Agnes Aunfrey, promises to 'fynde the forsaid Anneys worshipfully, al so longe as she lived, in vitaile, clothyng, and shoyng, and in all other necessaries, so that the forsaid Anneys shold redely serve the forsaid Hugh, as she did afore, tille she willed to translate herself into religion'.

We find also lands conveyed both to Godstow and to individuals, subject to life-grants to the seller. Cecilia Perle surrendered (700) to Godstow her interest in certain lands, on condition that the convent gave her 'every yere, al so longe as she lived, iii. marke of siluer [£2] and one lyverey of ther house of charite to be take'. To the purchase-money of lands which he sold (352) in Cassington, John of Wotton added that for his lifetime he should receive yearly '1 paire hosen of the price of ii. shillings at Mighelmasse'. Alice Fitchet selling land (618) to Hugh of Walton asked £1 down, an annuity to herself of 1*s.*, and a quit-rent to herself and her heirs of 2*d.* a year.

Obits, or anniversaries, at Godstow.

A very frequent bequest was for the endowment of an intercessory service for the testator's soul on each anniversary of his decease. In addition, that the nuns might have a personal interest in the service, a 'pittance' was provided for on that day, that is, an allowance to better the fare of the community at dinner in the dining-hall.

The obits, of which we have notice at Godstow, are twenty-four in number.

Of those which were still observed at the dissolution in 1540 (*Monast.* iv. 370-5), we may distinguish the following sets, according to the nearer or remoter connexion of the founder with Godstow.

(A) Obits founded by members of the community. Mabel Wafre, abbess, made provision for her own obit (659, 660), by a charge on property in Oxford. The deeds about the purchase of lands at Great Tew give a great many particulars about the property, but the most important deed, which specified the donor of the money and the purpose she intended the estate for, is missing. We learn, however, from *Monast.* iv. 372, that the donor was Margery Dyne, abbess, who thus provided for the commemoration of herself, of prioress Laura de Hakynton, a benefactress (p. xxv), and of two benefactors, John Trulowe and John Walweyn (possibly John Trillawe and John of Bloxham), of the Great Tew deeds (740–63). In the same way the voluminous Cassington deeds are yet without the deed which contained the information that part of the purchase-money was provided by Isold of Derham, abbess, to endow an anniversary for herself (*Monast.* iv. 372).

(B) Obits founded by former officers or servants of the community. Here, we have to bring in the obit of Gilbert of Biham (373, 376), chaplain of Godstow and incumbent, on Godstow's presentation (788), of the church of Lamyat. Also, the obit of William, called variously 'master' or 'keeper' (*magister*, *custos*) of Godstow (374–5), whose office would be 'master of the chapel', i.e. priest in chief charge of the services of the conventual church. John, the baker (*pistor*) of Godstow, provided an obit for himself (421), by a charge on lands in Cassington.

(C) Of obits founded by outsiders, we naturally find some established by Oxford residents, Maud Halegod (677) and Maud Perle (699). But there are several whose founders have no special connexion with Godstow, that can now be discovered. Ela, Countess of Warwick, founded an obit (*Monast.* iv. 371), but the deed of foundation is missing. Pain of Chaworth gave a rent-charge (139) in Dorsetshire to provide obits for his mother and his mother's mother. Wido of St. Valerie, by a rent-charge at Knighton, Berkshire, endowed (16–18) an obit for his father. Other endowments of obits were by Simon Lovel, by land at Ufcot (845) in Wiltshire; by Ralph Harang, by rent-charge at Bozeat (249–52) in Northamptonshire; by Roger of Writele, by lands at Broad Blunsdon (809–10) in Wiltshire. The obit of John Veiscele (misgiven as John de la Westle in *Monast.* iv. 372) was signalized (475) by the requirement 'of charite euery yere, in the day of his

annyuersary, to fede xiii. poore men', and endowed by a rent-charge on lands in Ledwell in Oxfordshire.

(D) One obit came to Godstow as rector of one of its churches. Adam, son of Walder, of Wycombe, Buckinghamshire, when founding an obit for himself in Wycombe church made provision (101–2) for its occasional observance at Godstow.

Of some few obits we have what appear to be the foundation-deeds, but there is no mention of their observance at the dissolution. Agas Pille gave a rent-charge in Holywell, Oxford, to provide (635) a pittance on her anniversary. Henry, son of Ailwy, gave a rent-charge (244) in London, for a similar purpose. Another was founded by Muriella Pohun (859); and Thurstan Despencer, in 1234, endowed an obit for his father Almaric and another for his son Almaric (860, 865).

Chantries at, or in the patronage of, Godstow.

The chantries were fewer in number, but of much greater importance. Here the testator gave property enough to provide for the maintenance of daily services for ever, in intercession for certain specified souls.

In 1275 Thomas of Sanford, or Stanford (for both spellings are given), gave property in St. Giles's parish, Oxford, to provide (595) for 'the susteynyng of the masse of oure ladye seynt Marye at the auter of the blissid virgyne in the monastery of Godestowe every day to be sunge', for the souls of himself, his kindred, and his benefactors.

Ela, Countess of Warwick, who died 1297, was commemorated (*Monast.* iv. 370) by two chaplains saying mass in Godstow chapel daily for her soul, but the deed founding this chantry is missing.

The chief chantry of which these deeds contain notice was that instituted to say daily offices for the souls of Adam, son of Walder, of Adam's wife, and of Walder and his wife, in Wycombe church, which brought to Godstow considerable property in that parish. The two deeds (101–2) connected with that foundation are full of information about the nature and intention of such chantry services.

In another Godstow church, that of Great Tew, there was an endowed chantry, of which we have a slight notice (246–8).

Commemoration of benefactors.

Many benefactors, instead of instituting a chantry, asked for perpetual mention in the ordinary services of Godstow church. This was done (809), e. g. by Roger of Writele, who gave lands on condition that 'the foreseyde abbas and mynchons receyvyd specially hys sowle, and the sowlys of Anneys and of Isabel his wyfys, ⟨his⟩ fadurs and modurs sowlys, and of all his benefeturs, in all her suffrages, prayers, almys, and vigils for euyr'. A like request was made by Joan of Turvile, for her grant (24) at North Moreton, Berkshire; by William Bucktot, for a benefaction (106) in Wycombe; and by William son of Peter of Kersynton, for lands (409) in Cassington.

This commemoration in the prayers of the convent is sometimes demanded by a feudal superior, in recompense of withdrawing an action to enforce some feudal right, or otherwise surrendering such right (e. g. 103, 152, 238). The chief example is concerned with the obligation of Godstow, as owners of Watereaton manor, to pay suit to the Court of Highworth (or la Stapel) hundred. One deed (853), in which the owner of the hundred court surrenders his claim for a substantial sum of money, was perhaps a bargain cancelled by another deed (854), in which he concludes, not for money, but for mention in the conventual prayers.

Special gifts to Godstow.

There is mention (91) of a gift of cakes on St. James's day (July 25), of the donor of which we have no notice, nor any reason why the day and saint should have special distinction at Godstow. The provision (659–60) for the better keeping of St. Margaret's day (July 20) was very meet for the honour of the patroness (Wood's *City of Oxford*, i. 329, ii. 43) of Binsey, where Edyve had waited (no. 2) for the token which directed her to Godstow. June 24, the Nativity of St. John Baptist, the patron saint of Godstow, had, by gift of a countess of Clare, an endowment (737–8) to provide wine, a mark of honour not altogether appropriate to a saint who 'came neither eating nor drinking'.

A very quaint gift (862) is that of Margery Cressy, widow, who bestowed five 'cartlode of aldur', yearly, in the first fortnight of October, that the nuns might 'drye their heryng'.

The endowments (105, 139, 556, 644) made for the homely purpose of providing clothing for the nuns, bear out the contention of some early deeds (493) that the nunnery was poor.

'Pittances,' payments to provide a better table on a given day, were generally bargained for by the founders of obits (373–5, 809, 845, 859). The convent, also, out of its savings, with the consent of the bishop, bought land (366) to amend its poor fare. One benefaction (250) made very special provision for the severe season of Lent.

Estates of Godstow.

Two questions present themselves. How large were the estates? and how acquired?

In 1291, by order of Pope Nicholas IV, a survey was made of the annual revenues of English churches. Godstow was then, after a century and a half of getting (1139–1291), put down as worth yearly £128 3*s.* 8½*d.* The odd halfpenny testifies to the minuteness of the survey, and recalls the English grumble about Norman William that his Domesday survey left not out one pig. More than two centuries and a half later, 1535 (26 Henry VIII), the king, having in his mind the confiscation of the savings of the piety of five centuries, ordered a similar survey. Godstow estates (*Monast.* iv. 360) were, after deducting fixed charges, valued at £258 10*s.* 6½*d.* yearly. Making full allowance for the much greater purchasing power of money, this is clearly no extravagant sum for the maintenance of abbess and twenty-four nuns; for the salaries of the chaplains who served the conventual church, and of the officers who managed the estates; for the repairs of the buildings; for the wages of porter, under-porter, and other servants; and for the hospitalities and almsgivings of a religious house.

This conclusion, arrived at on general grounds, is confirmed by a detailed perusal of the deeds in the Register. Godstow at no time received any great benefaction. Even where much land appears to be given, the land was really held by freeholders or by copyholders at certain fixed rents, and yielded to the convent, the nominal owner, only a small annual income.

The deeds, as we have them, do not permit of anything like a full history of Godstow lands. There are obvious gaps in them. Properties are mentioned as belonging to Godstow, of whose

acquisition there is no trace. Other properties are mentioned once, and never again, but there is no record of alienation. Taking the deeds as a whole they stop short on some estates by a century, on others by a century and a half, of the dissolution. At the same time, the general result is to confirm the popular opinion of the tenacity with which a religious house retained its property. Most of the holdings mentioned as belonging to Godstow in 1139, 1145, 1156, 1165, 1182, 1192, can be traced in the 1535 and 1540 surveys, and in the case of some others, the reason for their absence can be assigned.

As regards the means by which the estates were acquired, we have only indirect evidence, but when the several items are put together, that evidence is by no means obscure.

There is only one frank statement of an increase of property, made from mere sympathy with the nuns. Property at Gloucester is said (177) to have been bought with 'fowre and twenty marke of syluer' (£16), the gift of 'a nowble-woman, dame royse la moyne i-callyd, to the more plentyfull susteynyng of the sayde monastery in tyme comyng'. Almost all other considerable gifts are subject to some burden of maintenance of ladies taking the veil (p. xxv), or of providing chaplains to say masses for the souls of the donors (pp. xxviii, xxx), leaving only a small margin of profit to the convent.

Points of connexion with English history.

It is a common experience with people who have gone through a long series of documents connected with property that they have, at the end of their search, hardly any references to public events. This is not the case with these Godstow deeds. Allusions to contemporary events, if slight and indirect, are at least numerous, and capable of being arranged in a sort of narrative.

The Norman conquest.

The Norman conquest overwhelmed England by a ruling caste of foreigners, and it was long before the native stock reasserted itself. The foundation of Godstow stands near enough to the conquest to have some reflection of this state of affairs in the Register. In the earliest of the deeds we find Norman sovereigns and barons speaking of the French element as of first importance in England. The Empress Maud, and her son Henry II, make

known their pleasure (nos. 87, 718, 874–6, 879) to their 'trew men, Frenssh and Englissh, of all Englond'. So also Herebert of St. Quintin (237) and Bernard of St. Valerie (5). Somewhat later, the balance seems turned, and the natives have at least verbal precedence. About 1190, Henry Doylly, Lord Constable, addresses himself (520) 'to all his men and frendes, Englissh and Frenssh'.

The Norman civil war.

The changing fortunes of the war of the Norman succession are seen in the calculated fickleness with which Godstow assigns the credit of its earliest privileges and properties, first (no. 4), to Stephen, 1139; then (718, 874–6), to Maud, lady of England, 1141–4; and finally (878), to Maud and Henry II, 1156. The slackening of the bonds of feudal society by the war may be guessed from Henry II's order, 1160, empowering (882) Godstow to seek out and retake possession of those of its serfs who had escaped from its control since Henry I's death in 1135.

Henry II's reign.

Henry II's land-tax, imposed in 1159 in lieu of personal discharge by landowners of their feudal obligation to military service, long cast its shadow over Godstow tenures. It was clearly regarded as a new thing, whose scope was not fully understood, and whose results might prove over-burdensome. Accordingly, landowners, in parting with even small portions of their property, habitually stipulated that those portions should pay their full share of scutage when the king demanded it. A strip of land at Bletchingdon was granted (300) subject to a yearly quit-rent of 2*d.* in lieu of all claims 'savynge the outward seruice, that is to sey, 1*d.* whenne the scuage rennythe or happenyth'. When Godstow, about 1280, bought three virgates at Cassington, the vendor bargained (405) that Godstow should do 'for the forsaid iii. yerdlondis foreyn service, that is to sey, scuage as moche as longeth to be do for iii yerde-londes, after more or lesse, whan that scuage happenyth to rynne in the reame of Englond'. At Thrupp, about 1250, we have (384) the reservation 'sauyng the kyngis seruyce, that is to sey, whan that he axeth generall scuage of Englond'. Elena, Lady Zouche of Ashby, displays exceptional generosity, in

1279, expressly declaring (276) her grant of land to be 'free and quiet of scuage'. As late as 1314, in an agreement (429) with Sir Michael of Meledon, Godstow acknowledged liability for 'the seruyce of ii. partis of one knyght's fee, that is to sey, whan the scuage rynneth to xl*s.*, ii. mark [= £1 6*s.* 8*d.*], and to more, more, and to lasse, lasse'.

Odd dates.

To Henry II's reign belonged the practice of dating by reference to a particular past event, as is witnessed by the series of the earliest fines, July, 1175–8. In the Godstow deeds, Henry II's struggle with Becket is commemorated by two such dates. About 1168, at Empshott, Hampshire, an acknowledgement (203) of a debt has this for its mark of time:—'The forsaid William borowed the forsaid iiii. mark, the same yere that the strif was bitwene kyng Henry the second and the cardenales that were I-sent fro Rome to reconsile Thomas the archebisshope with the forsaide kyng.' An Oxford lease (572) is dated as 'the xxxv. yere fro the deth of seynt Thomas of Caunterbury I-begunne', i.e. 1205, Becket's murder being Dec. 29, 1170. It must, however, be noted that in the original Latin the years are somewhat obscurely expressed, viz. xx|xv which may be xx corrected to xv, and not xxxv as the translator has taken it. 'xv years' would be 1185. Another of Henry II's troubles, the insurrection of Robert de Beaumont, 3rd earl of Leicester, is mentioned in a Bloxham deed (313), whose one mark of time is 'post decessum exercitus Leicestrie'. In the pipe-roll of 19 Henry II, pp. 58, 107, 173, 178, payments are found for the army which Richard de Lucy and earl Reginald of Cornwall took to besiege Leicester in July, 1173. The Bloxham deed would therefore be of 1174. I have to thank Dr. R. L. Poole for giving me the clue to this system of dating, and keeping me clear of erroneous guesses.

Fair Rosamond.

Popularly, Godstow was known chiefly as the retreat and burial-place of Henry II's leman, Rosamond Clifford. Her history, long a favourite theme of ballad-singer, story-teller, chronicler, and black-letter moralist (Wood's *Life and Times*, i. 341–3), has now obtained an assured place in letters through Tennyson's *A Dream of Fair Women*. We find her father (nos. 156, 200) bestowing

property for the health of her soul, about 1180; and her brother (158) enlarging this gift, about 1190. It is possible that Henry II's re-foundation of the nunnery under the direct patronage of the Crown and the grant of his third charter may be due to the shelter it gave, in life and death, to Fair Rosamond.

Re-foundation.

When first founded in Henry I's time, Godstow was built on a site (3, 4) bought from, or given by, John of St. John, lord of Wolvercote and Stanton, who retained for himself and his heirs both the patronship of the abbey, and the feudal lordship of Wolvercote (the vill in which it stood). In 1180 these rights rested in Bernard of St. Valerie by his marriage with Avoris, daughter and heiress of John of St. John. In that year, however, Bernard (5, 886, 892) transferred them to Henry II, by a ceremony which I cannot explain, 'of a silken cloth, whereof was a chesible I-made' ('per pannum sericum unde facta est casula'), 'so that the forsaid abbey should be free for ever, and [held] in chief of the crown, as . . . other riall abbeyes that ben I-sette in Englond.' Henry II then confirmed to Godstow its former estates, and added fresh ones.

Reign of Henry III.

Henry III made two expeditions into Gascony, 1242, 1253. One or other of these got into the shibboleth of the law-courts as a formula for an indefinite date in past time. In 1412, in a precept (802) of Henry IV to the sheriff of Warwickshire, reference is made to a complaint by the abbess of Godstow that 'Robert Clynton and John Raves, unrightfully and without iugement, disseised her of her fre tenement in Barton-henmersh, aftir the goyng of kyng Henry the sone of kyng John into Guyan'. The editors of Dugdale's *Monasticon* (1846) have taken this as evidence that the precept was of 13 Henry III and so put the abbess mentioned in it, Elizabeth Felmersham, into the list at 1229, nigh two centuries before her time. The election, 1256, of Henry III's brother, Richard, Earl of Cornwall, to be King of the Romans has given an odd date to one of his Oxfordshire deeds (361), 'The date at Bekkele, the xx. day of Janyvere, the xiii. yere of his reigne.' At Henry III's death, the uncertainty which still attached to the succession is seen in the dating of a Wiltshire

lease (813) of Dec. 13, 1272, 'in the day of seynt Lucye, uirgyn, next after the dethe of Henry the son of kynge John.' Henry III died Nov. 16, 1272, but as prince Edward, his eldest son, was then absent oversea on the eighth crusade, the lawyer who drafted the deed was too cautious to commit himself to any statement as to his accession.

Reign of Edward I.

Edward I took the cross a second time in 1287, but that crusade was never actually begun. It seems, however, that for some time afterwards there was a permanent, though possibly a voluntary, tax in preparation for it. We find people binding themselves to pay forfeits to such a tax, much as at the present day a politician backs his opinion by offering to pay £20 to the local infirmary if some statement of his can be shown to be false. In 1289 a citizen of Oxford bound himself (651) to complete a conveyance, under penalty, if he neglected to do so, of 'x. mark of sterlyngis' (£6 13*s.* 4*d.*) 'into subsidie of the Holy Londe'. In 1306 a Warwickshire squire pledged himself (801) to repayment of a loan 'in the peyne of an hundred shillyngis to be paid vnto the subsidie of the Holy Londe'. In 1307 Godstow bound (562) the lessee of one of its Oxford houses to keep the property in good repair 'vndir the payne of x. mark to be paid to the subsidie of the Holy Lond'.

Slight mention is found of the great fraternities established to protect pilgrims to Palestine. The Knights Hospitallers, or Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, are possibly 'the hospital of Jerusalem' which held (515) land in Oxford about 1160, and 'the brethered of Jerusalem' to whom a small rent-charge was bequeathed (807) in Wiltshire, in 1284. The lands of the Knights Templars at Cowley near Oxford are mentioned (433–5), and about 1220 we find at Wycombe certain messuages (101) held by payment of a rent-charge of 'xii*d.* to the Temple'.

Statute of Mortmain.

The three great legislative acts of Edward I are presented to us in a multitude of notices.

In these deeds we have a fairly complete view of the origin and of the working of the vaunted Statute of Mortmain of 1279, and

are enabled to conclude not only that it failed to accomplish its professed object, but even that it was a great obstacle to the natural development of the country.

We begin with the popular feeling that too much land was passing into ecclesiastical ownership. In grants of land, or leases, we find frequently inserted a clause forbidding the demise of the property to any religious house. About 1230, William dyer, demising land in Oxford (686) to Robert le glosur, granted him leave to assign it 'out-take to religious men', the restriction in this case being the more singular, because the feudal superior was St. Frideswyde's Priory. About 1270, Peter of Wilcote, demising (399) land at Cassington to his son Robert, granted him powers to assign it as he chose 'except to religeous houses', and renewed the limitation when he confirmed (401) the transference of the land by said Robert to his sister. About 1270, John Franklin, of Great Tew, demised (747) land there to John Lake and his assigns 'except religious men'. In this notification of inadmissible tenants or lessees the religious orders are not infrequently joined with Jews. About 1240, a life-rent (356) of land in Cassington concedes to the life-renters 'power to yeve and selle the forsaid tenement to who-so-ever they wold, except to religious houses and to the Iurye', for any portion of their life-term. About 1260, a grant (181) of land in Meysey-Hampton, Gloucestershire, contains permission 'to yeve, selle, bequeth, or lay hit to wedde, . . . or in any other wise assigne hit, . . . out-take hit be to religious men or Iewis'. Godstow itself is found going with the current. About 1250, Godstow granted a tenement (117) in Wycombe to a man and his assigns, 'excepte howses of religion and Iewys.' In 1265 Godstow, granting a messuage (621) in St. Giles's parish, to be held for ever by a small quit-rent, provided that 'hit shold not be lawfull to the said John or to his heires to leye to wedde the seid mese in Iuery, nother to aliene hit to ony religious (out-take the house of Godestowe)'. In the same way, we find provision made in a life-grant to a 'secular' cleric that the grant is to be void if the life-renter joins one of the 'regular' orders. In 1272 Godstow granted (534) lands near Oxford in life-rent to Robert Maynard of Oxford, chaplain, on terms that 'yf the said Robert died, or entred religion, all the said lond shold turne agayn' to Godstow. Here Godstow, a 'religious' house of

the Benedictine rule, shares in the general objection to a 'religious' tenant.

The Statute of Mortmain (November, 1279), professedly giving effect to this feeling, forbade the transference of land to ecclesiastical ownership, except by licence of the king and of the chief lord of whom the land was held. Inasmuch, however, as these licences were never refused, and inasmuch as neglect to ask for them was condoned by a fine, the one effect of the statute was to increase the expenses of land-transfer by the costs of the cumbrous procedure required under the statute. The Crown lawyers and the engrossers of the required licences received increase of fees; there was no diminution in the amount of land which passed into 'the dead hand'. It is true that, in the case of Godstow, the editors of the 1846 edition of the *Monasticon* say (iv. 358) that 'After the Statute of Mortmain, the accessions of property were, of course, few or none'; but this statement is merely such a glib falsehood as comes handy to editors who are conceited enough to make statements without taking trouble to examine the facts.

These Godstow documents, in giving us examples of the different procedures under the statute, show us acquisitions of land as large and as constant as before the statute was passed.

In 1284 Roger of Writele was ready to give Godstow one of the largest properties it ever received at one time. The king's licences were at once forthcoming (808, 836), as also that of the chief lord (835); and the transference (809, 843) was effected in 1285. In 1314 apparently by the benefaction (*Monast.* iv. 372) of Margery Dyne, abbess, trustees purchased for Godstow considerable lands in Great Tew, and we have almost a complete set (750–8) of the tedious deeds required under the statute.

A sufficient condemnation of the statute is that the Crown soon tired of issuing licences for the acquisition of small portions of land, and granted religious houses general licences to break the statute up to a certain point, merely on reporting the purchase. Thus, Godstow had licence (897) to acquire, in spite of the statute, lands 'to the valew of a C. shillings by yere, after the verry valew of the same', and the Great Tew property was acquired (760) as representing 41*s.* yearly value of this concession.

The insincerity of the statute is apparent from the fact that

where land had been seized by the king's escheators, as forfeited because acquired in defiance of the statute, the payment of a fine obtained release of the escheat, and its conveyance to the religious house. In 1301 Godstow bought property (179) in Gloucester from Agnes of Pershore without observing the statute. The property was then escheated, but given up (1306) to the abbey on payment of a fine. Unfortunately, neither in the cases of the requirements of the statute being observed, nor in the case of fine for neglect of them, have we any indication of the legal costs.

The most shameful part of the statute was, that licence in mortmain had to be obtained in cases of exchanges of land however small. In 1314 in the exchange between Sir William Mountagu and Godstow of two acres at Cassington, we have (425–7) the necessary set of licences, in their wearisome iteration. Another licence occurs in 1321, when William Burncestre exchanged (613) a small enclosure in North Oxford for a strip of Godstow land. Even where all the lands were already in mortmain, licences had to be taken out if an exchange was desired. In 1358 we have the agreement (510) by which Godstow and St. Frideswyde's, by private arrangement, decided to farm as if their own, certain pieces of each other's lands, until they 'myght lawfully opteyne licence of the kyng (with commune costes of them) and of other the which had to entermete in that parte of the fore eschaunge to be made'. When we recall the intermixed strips in which land was held, and the utter need that there was of consolidation before the land could be properly worked, it becomes plain that the Statute of Mortmain was not merely a fraudulent device to collect fees, but actually pernicious as a hindrance to agriculture.

There is one instance (539) of the procedure necessary to establish title to lands acquired by Godstow, prior to the Statute of Mortmain, when that title had been challenged. The same deed introduces us to the subtle distinction that a grant of free land in life-rent could not be made without taking out a licence in mortmain, but if the tenant held the land 'in villenage' for his life-term no licence was required.

The Quia Emptores Statute of Edward I.

The 1290 *Quia emptores* Statute possibly appears in a more favourable light, as perhaps needed, and as in a way effective.

Yet even here, the deeds supply us with some reasons for grumbling at the statute. In the theory of the feudal lawyers, English land was a great rope, composed of many strands, each strand consisting of many cords, and each cord made up of many threads. The end where the rope was undivided was in the king's hands. A little apart from him stood the barons, each holding a strand untwisted from the rope: Arundel, Chester, Cornwall, Lancaster, are names which occur in these deeds. A stage further on, stood lords of manors, every one of them with a cord untwisted from his overlord's strand. Further away still, came smaller landholders with filaments and fractions of filaments subdivided from their manorial lord's cord. Accordingly, in practice, whenever a piece of land (large or small) was sold or otherwise severed from an estate (large or small) the seller or donor, to perpetuate its feudal subjection to his estate, retained from it, for himself and his heirs, something in the nature of a quit-rent. The result was that at each fresh sale, the land was burdened with a fresh quit-rent, and so, like Goldsmith's *Traveller* 'dragged at each remove a lengthening chain' of feudal charges. At Cassington, for example, we have lands (352) held by yearly quit-rents of 6*d.* and a pair of gloves to the chief lord, and then, by other acts of subinfeudation, by 5*s.* to Godstow, a 'sparhawk' to another mesne lord, and 1*d.* to a third mesne lord.

It would appear that the original quit-rents imposed by the chief lords, at the first severance of the lands from the demesne, were in many cases intended to be substantial money-charges or fixed rents, but that the later, intermediate, quit-rents were sometimes nominal charges, not intended to be rigidly collected. This conclusion is pointed to both by the amount of the original quit-rents and the continued notice which is taken of them. Thus we have land (576) held by yearly quit-rent of 2*s.* to the chief lord, but of only 1*d.* to the mesne lord; and other land (581) held by yearly quit-rent of 4*s.* to the chief lord, but of only 1*d.* to the mesne lord. An Oxford shop (557), already paying quit-rents of 8*s.* to Oseney abbey, and 2*s.* to the heirs of Adam Feteplace, when sold about 1255, was subjected to a further quit-rent of 1*d.* to the seller and his heirs as the new mesne lord. An overlord, granting confirmation of a mesne lord's conveyance of land, often inserts (e.g. 748) a clause providing for due payment of the original quit-rent to himself and his heirs.

It is plain that at one time the overlord interpreted very strictly his superiority over lands granted out of his demesne. Intending purchasers of land are found (341, 377) bargaining beforehand how much they are to pay for the overlord's permission to hold land 'of his fee'. Godstow often paid a substantial sum both to the mesne lord for the purchase of the land and to the overlord for confirmation of the under-lord's grant (20, 23). An overlord, confirming the conveyance by the mesne lord of his interest in the land to Godstow, is found (322) bargaining for commemoration in the prayers of the convent as if he had given a considerable benefaction.

There were frequent misunderstandings, disputes, and suits at law, as to whether the services due from the land to the overlord were to be paid by the mesne lord who had parted with it, or by the new holder (cp. 192, 220).

A general cloud of unsettledness hung over lands, lest at any time, like Shylock with his pound of flesh, some overlord or mesne lord might attempt to resume possession of the land, on the ground that some of its numerous petty services had been neglected. We have one instance of Godstow thus re-entering, in virtue of a legal decision, into property which had been granted out to be held by quit-rent (682).

The 1290 statute *Quia emptores*, by directing that land sold was henceforth to be held not of the mesne lord but of the chief lord, may have given a sense of security of possession which had hitherto been impossible.

Quaint tenures.

So much of Godstow land was acquired before the *Quia emptores* statute, that we have abundant material from which to illustrate the artificial tenures by which subinfeudation took place.

In some cases feudal superiority was retained by a small yearly quit-rent in money. We have $\frac{1}{4}d.$, payable at Easter, as a quit-rent at Great Tew (746); $\frac{1}{2}d.$, payable at Christmas, also at Great Tew (744); very commonly, $1d.$, e.g. payable at Easter by land in St. Giles's parish, Oxford (581), and again, payable at Michaelmas, by property in Wycombe (128). Very common also is a quit-rent of $2d.$, e.g. payable at Michaelmas by land at Cassington (333). The most ingenious of these money quit-rents is that imposed,

about 1230, on meadow (606) near Oxford, which was to be held by yearly payment of one shilling, one penny, one halfpenny, one farthing. A quit-rent of this sort was often jealously exacted, because of the rights of possible reversion which it retained. Accordingly, we find (129) a solemn conveyance, as of something of real importance, of the yearly quit-rent of 1*d.*, and of the casualties which might accrue to the holder of it as feudal superior.

Very frequently the quit-rent was a small payment in kind.

The proverbial 'peppercorn rent' of modern parlance occurs in St. Giles's parish, Oxford, where a rent-charge (589) yielded to its overlord 'one corne of grayne of pepir in the fest of our lordis birthe for all seculer services, customes and demaundes'. Tenure by yearly payment of 1 lb. of pepper occurs about a dozen times. At Little Rissington, Gloucestershire, a yardland (190) was held by yearly payment of '1 lb. of pepir at the fest of seynt Thomas the appostle for all servyce, exaccion, sute, custome, and demaunde'. So also at Bozeat, Northamptonshire (249), and at Cassington near Oxford (429). In some deeds the option is given of the pepper or of a money quit-rent. At Fencot, Oxfordshire, we have a grant of lands to be held (446) 'for 1 li. of peper (or vi*d.*, after the wille of the same Gefrei, his heires, or of ony of his assinis)', at Michaelmas, 'for alle seruice and exaccion.' In 1540 (*Monast.* iv. 372) the sum of 2*s.* had become the recognized commutation-value of these '1 lb. of pepper' quit-rents. In one deed (523), the grant to Godstow of a lb. of pepper quit-rent is treated as a substantial benefaction, entitling the donor to commemoration in the prayers of the convent. This, of course, was because the ownership of the quit-rent implied legal right to the reversion of the lands held by that tenure.

Cumin was another favourite spice, and was frequently pressed into service as a tenure. Ely of Maundeville, selling at 10 years' purchase a rent-charge (829) in Wiltshire, retained his lordship over it 'by half a li. of comin for all exaccion and seculer demaunde, at Estur'. The commonest tenure is by '1 lb. of comin', e. g. payable at Michaelmas, by land (448) at Fencot. We find it in combination with other quit-rents. Thus, in Wiltshire, the grant of a half-yardland (841) was subjected to quit-rents of a halfpenny of silver and 1 lb. of cumin at Michaelmas. St. Oswald's Priory, Gloucester, held some Godstow property in that

city, by quit-rent (166) of '2 shillings of sterlynges and 1 li. of comyn at the feste of seynte Hillary' (Jan. 14). Property (837) in Wiltshire was held of the chief lord by '1 paire of spurres gilte (or vi*d.* of siluir) at Estur, and at Mihelmas 1 lb. of comyn for all seruices'. In 1540 4*d.* was the recognized commutation-money for the lb. of cumin (*Monast.* iv. 373).

Much the most common of these spice tenures is that by a single grain of clove, whose old name 'clove gillyflower' in its great variety of spellings quaintly disguises its Greek original *καρυόφυλλον*. Examples of tenure by one clove gillyflower are :—payable at Easter, properties in St. Giles's, Oxford (593, 599, 610), and at Wycombe (122); payable at Midsummer, in St. Giles's, Oxford (592); at Michaelmas, there also (619); at Christmas, in Great Tew (741).

These tenures, by spices, suggest agreements arrived at on festal occasions, over cups of spiced ale. There are other tenures, with more of poetry about them, by fruits or flowers of English growth.

In 1270 Maud Arneby retained superiority over her grant of land (591) in St. Giles's parish, Oxford, by 'one rede appull at Myghelmasse'. Hugh Hore, conveying a shop (559) in All Saints parish, Oxford, to his daughter Mariote, subjected it to the charge of 'yelding therof yerely to hym and to his heires one rose at Midsomer'. This 'rose at Midsomer' tenure occurs twice at Great Tew (745, 749). It is a tenure especially common in grants made to Godstow (177, 363, 370–2, 419, 421, 588), because Midsummer Day (June 24) is the Nativity of St. John Baptist, the patron saint of Godstow. When Godstow granted leases at a nominal rent, this rent (431, 630) was 'a rose at Midsummer'. This tenure is found in conjunction with others. Thus, about 1260, on occasion of a grant to Godstow of lands (223), held of the feudal superior by a clove at Michaelmas, the grantor imposes a new quit-rent of a rose at Midsummer to himself and his heirs as mesne lord.

Gloves are still a recognized present on various occasions of ceremony. At Oxford, for example, when the University pays its formal call on the Judge of the Assize, the Vice-Chancellor brings with him white gloves. These deeds carry back this present to the time of feudal tenures. Very often, to prevent misunderstanding, the deeds mention a commutation-price. At Wycombe, Buckinghamshire, we find property (124) held by payment of 'one paire of

white gloves of the price of 1 halfpenny at Ester'. In North Moreton, Berkshire, there is a tenure (24) by 'a pair of gloves or 1*d.* at Michaelmas'. This seems to have been a favourite Oxfordshire tenure. In Oxford itself we have (666), about 1240, 'a paire of gloves at Cristmasse,' and (543) '1 paire of white gloves at Estir'. At Great Tew, we have (740) this same '1 paire of white gloves at Ester'. At Cassington, tenures are (384) '1 paire of gloves or 1*d.* withyn the vtas of Estir', and (349) '1 paire of new gloves or 1*d.* whether of tho two his heires will chese, and to do this in the court of Karsynton', no doubt meaning at the court held on the leet-day. In Cassington also we have this glove-payment joined with a quit-rent in money, in the tenure (352) by 'vi*d.* at Cristmasse and 1 paire of white gloves of the price of 1 halfpenny at Ester'.

Spurs occur as a tenure almost as often as gloves. De Braose, lord of Bramber, Sussex, parting with lands (791) to a St. Valerie, subjected them to the quit-rent of a 'paire of sporres over gilte, price of vi. *d.*', to be paid on Michaelmas Day at Bramber Castle. In 1540 Godstow was still paying this 6*d.* in lieu of a pair of gilt spurs, but under the prosaic condition (*Monast.* iv. 374) of a fee of 6*s.* 8*d.* to the Duke of Norfolk's bailiff for coming to Godstow to receive the 6*d.* In the same way, the lord of Cassington, parting with houses and land, imposes (326) a quit-rent of '1 paire of spores (or 2*d.*, yf he had lever), at Myghelmas, for all service longyng to hym and to his heires'. Spurs occur also as a courtesy payment. Godstow, acquiring land (463) in Hampton-Gay, paid the owner £10, and gave his wife a bezant (2*s.*) and his heir 'xii*d.* to by hym sporys'.

'Alisaundir of Swereford, tresorer of seynt Powles of London,' parting with lands (351) in Cassington, asked payment of 'a sper-hawke sowryng at Lammas' ('unum spervarium sorum'). 'Sorus' is late Latin for 'red', as of a smoked herring. If 'spervarius', sper-hawke, means sparrow-hawk, we have here an instance of the sporting parson.

The statute of *Quia emptores*, 1290, in forbidding subinfeudation, swept away all the tenures by which it had been carried on. In subsequent conveyances there is greater simplicity, but also absolute loss of individuality in the tenure clause, which becomes 'to be held of the chief lords of the fee by the accustomed services'.

Before parting from these tenures, we may place alongside of them a corresponding church custom, by which was intimated the homage due by a church to its parent church or to a benefactor church. This was done by an offering of wax-candles of a prescribed weight on a given day. In acknowledgement of the kindness of Oseney abbey in withdrawing a claim to certain tithes also claimed by Godstow, Godstow was bound (493) to pay 'yerely ii. sergis of iii. lb. of wexe, the which, honestly araied, thei ought to offre vpon the hye auter of our blissed lady seynt Marye of Oseney, in the vigille of the assumpcion of her, afore evensonge'. This was in 1192. In 1239, in acknowledgement of the privilege of having a chapel of its own, St. John Baptist's Hospital, Wycombe, was bound (99) to give to Wycombe parish church 'ii. sergis of ii. lb. of wexe in the day of the pryncipall fest every yere'.

Expulsion of the Jews.

We have several indications of the discontents which ended in the atrocity of the expulsion of the Jews in 1290.

Very frequently, in notices of sales of land, the cause of alienation is stated to be debt to the Jews. At Gloucester, about 1200, the purchaser of certain lands (169) gave the seller 'afore-handis x. marke of siluer to acquite him of the Juis of Gloucetur'. About 1230, Godstow, buying houses (529, 530) in Oxford, gave the seller 'to his grete nede, that is to sey, to aquyte hym of the Jewrye, and in other placis where he was indetted, x. marke of siluer in warison'. In 1244, a buyer of lands in Cassington (350) paid 20*s.* to the seller and undertook to 'quytte him of xxi. shillings ayenst Vynos Sapin, Jewe of Oxenford, in the whiche he was I-bound to hym in the same day that this charter was I-made'. In 1250, buying land (299) in Bletchingdon, Godstow gave the seller 'halfe a marke of sterlingys to quite hym of the Jurye in the towne of Oxenford, that is to sey, ageynst James of London, Iue fitz Moysy'. In 1280, buying land (412) at Cassington, Godstow gave the seller 'C. shillings and xx. *d.* to delyuer hym of the Juys hondys, in whos dettis at that tyme he was I-bounde'.

The existence of many mortgages, held by Jews as security for money lent by them, is often brought before us in those forms of warranty-clauses which were in favour 1240–80. About thirty

examples are found, viz. one in Dinton, a few in Wycombe, several in Cassington, the rest in Oxford. At Cassington (398) 'the said Amye and her heires warantiȝed, aquyted, and defended for euer the said ii. acres . . . to the said mynchons and to their successours ayenst all men and women, bothe cristen and Juwys'. At Dinton (57), warranty was given 'ageiniste alle men and women, bothe Jues and cristinmen'. In Oxford, warranty was given (592) 'ayenst all peple, men and women, both Jewes, Jewesses, and cristen men'. Other Oxford examples are 560, 566, 594, 600, 626.

From 1230 to 1280 there is evidence of a feeling that too much land was passing into the hands of Jews, or being mortgaged to them. Leases and grants often contain a clause forbidding the selling or mortgaging of the property, especially to Jews. In Oxford, e. g., 1230, Godstow bound its tenant (620) that he 'fro that tyme forthe myght not plegge, selle, nother encrease the rent, ne in no wyse aliene the forsaid lond to Jewys or cristen men'. A lease for life (693) of certain houses in Oxford, 1266, was made on condition that the life-renter 'shold not selle, nother lay to wedde, nother assigne to no man, cristen nother Jewe, nother in religion nother out of religion, the forsaid ii. meses'. The frequent conjunction of Jews and monastic houses ('exceptis religiosis et Judaeis') as inadmissible tenants or subtenants has already been noticed (p. xxxviii).

Reign of Edward II.

In the first half of 1314, Godstow was engaged in buying and exchanging lands. The places at which the king granted the necessary licences in mortmain mark the stages of his journey to Bannockburn. On Feb. 2, 131$\frac{3}{4}$, he was at Canterbury (425); on May 8, 1314, at York (760); on June 14, at Berwick-on-Tweed (428).

The Statutes of Praemunire and Provisors.

These deeds afford several indications of the conditions which prompted Edward III's statutes directed against the exercise of jurisdiction in England by the papal Curia. We find a great many suits which were appealed to Rome, and, after payment of fees in the papal court, decided in England by English ecclesiastics named as papal commissioners. Thus, Pope Celestine III (1191–8) appointed commissions to decide controversies—about tithe (493),

between Oseney abbey and Godstow; about the ecclesiastical position of Watereaton chapel (851), between Cirencester abbey and Godstow; about a pension from Bloxham church (308), between Westminster abbey and Godstow. In 1205 commissioners of Innocent III gave judgement in the dispute between Godstow and Norton priory about the position of Easington church (440). Pope Gregory IX (1227–41) issued many commissions. One of these, in 1228, repelled (160) the claim of the vicar of Frampton for tithe from Godstow. Another, in 1234, awarded (92) Godstow the tithes of Wycombe mills; and another, in 1235, decided a controversy as to tithes in Wycombe (94) between Bec abbey and Godstow. In 1236 another commission defined the tithe obligation (855) of Godstow's manor of Watereaton to Eisey church. In 1239 another instituted (99) a chapel in St. John Baptist's Hospital, Wycombe. In 124½ a commission, apparently after the death of the pope who had appointed it, rejected (31) the vicar of Wytham's claim for certain tithes from Godstow. Innocent IV issued a commission, which, in 1247, confirmed (214) to Godstow a pension out of Faringdon church, Hampshire. Gregory X issued a commission, which, in 1273, confirmed (442) to Godstow a pension out of Easington church, Oxfordshire.

The number of these appeals to Rome, recorded in the imperfect register of one nunnery, and that a small one, gives us a hint of the vast number of suits in church matters which were decided after being appealed to Rome.

Indications are not wanting that English litigants, both corporations and individuals, had grown weary of the expenses incident to the jurisdiction of a foreign court. Thus, in 1238, a commission was issued by Pope Gregory IX to give judgement in a suit raised by the vicar of St. Peter's in the East, Oxford, against Godstow about tithes and church-dues in Wolvercote; but the matter was decided (775) in 1239 by both parties inviting arbitration by the diocesan, Bishop Robert Grostete, a great resister of papal claims. At a still earlier date, about 1192, in concluding their dissension about Watereaton chapel, Cirencester abbey and Godstow promised each other (851) that they 'sholde never afturwarde gete no letters fro the pope nother use non I-gote', to override the agreement they had come to. Much later, 1338, considering the 'harmes and expensis' that might come by such litigation, Godstow and Oseney

abbey referred (495) their difference about tithes in Walton to the award of the diocesan, the Bishop of Lincoln.

The system of papal provision, by which the Roman pontiff nominated to English benefices, in defiance of the right of the English patron, is probably hinted at in the sworn promise exacted (790) by Godstow in 1376, before it presented to Lamyat church, that its presentee 'wold never resigne the said chirch of Lamyete out of Englond'.

The Alien Priories.

Of foreign monasteries possessed of revenues in England, the Godstow deeds present us with Bec-Hellouin abbey, owning tithe in Wycombe (93–6), which at one time had to be paid to the prior of their cell at Ogbourne, Wiltshire; with Bertincourt abbey, owning Duxford mills in Berkshire (10–12); and with 'Nimgun' priory, owning land (7) in Blewberry, Berkshire. At the beginning of his quarrel with France, Edward III, to provide the sinews of war, seized on the Wycombe revenues of Bec abbey. After Creçy, he relaxed his grip on them (97), and allowed the Norman house to sell the ownership of them to an English subject. It is interesting to find this anticipation of Henry V's action, 1414, in confiscating the English estates of Norman monasteries, to provide funds for his invasion of France.

Conditions of English land.

In some hundreds of deeds relating to property, and reaching in date from 1140 to 1460, we naturally look for bits of information as to the methods of working the land, managing estates, and the like. I have brought together under heads what can be gleaned from the deeds in this direction.

Town properties.

Indications of civic life are few, but such as are given are of interest.

In Oxford, we have a brief notice (562) of an academic hall in 1307, with its chambers for the residence of its students; its kitchen, a separate building from fear of fire in those days of thatched roofs; and its stables for the students' horses, riding being the sole mode of travelling. We have two glimpses at the trade-

quarters with their very small shops on the street level, and in the next storey a room (often in different ownership) extending over two or three of them (672, 683). In the case of one 'seld' (667) we have the actual measurements, 28½ ft. × 20 ft. Another deed (541) suggests the complications as to water-drip and window-rights which existed in these subdivided houses.

Somewhat singular is the existence of large permanent garden ground (663) in the very heart of what is generally depicted as a crowded town.

In Wycombe there is a minute account (104) of the feudal lord's rights over the town, exacting yearly dues from the houses, compelling townsmen to serve as his unpaid officers of the market, collecting for his own use the mulcts for breaches of market-rules, forcing the community to rent the market from him, and carrying off to his own land all manure deposited on the streets. This last item, and the twelve-months' exemption from it allowed to Godstow and Godstow tenants, tell us of the insanitary state of towns.

In Banbury we have (285, 868, 869) a perpetual rent-charge imposed on the market-revenues. In Cricklade (814) the feudal superior makes a long lease to an individual of the revenues and perquisites of the market.

At Brackley in Northamptonshire (256) and at Cricklade in Wiltshire (817) we have 'burgages', i.e. houses in the town which carried with them the right of buying and selling in the town-market.

The Common-field system.

These deeds show us, in full working order, in every county where Godstow held land, the old communal system of tillage. Each vill or township was divided into several holdings of determinate size, viz. yardlands ('virgatae terrae'), half-yardlands, and quarter-yardlands. These had each houses, and certain small enclosures as their own individual property. But much the greater part of the arable land consisted of strips in certain large fields, and the strips of the several holdings were so intermingled that they could be tilled only by the whole township following the same routine of leaving fallow, ploughing, cropping, reaping. Most of the meadow went with the arable, so much meadow in the common meadows being attached to so many acres of arable. This again

necessitated common action in hay-making, carrying, and turning the cattle on to the meadow. Further, the cattle, sheep, and pigs were pastured in common, each holding according to its acres being entitled to have so much stock at pasture.

In Cassington we have (432), in 1350, a description of the buildings of a farm 'messuage', i.e. of the housing we may suppose to have belonged to a yardland. A typical example of the make-up of a yardland, described by its scattered acres, half-acres, and roods, is found (740) at Great Tew. An example of a half-yardland, described piece by piece, occurs (297) at Bletchingdon. Another description of the scattered arable, meadow, and common pasture rights of a half-yardland is given (182) at Meysey-Hampton in Gloucestershire. Bletchingdon supplies (298) a typical quarter-yardland. Besides these we have holdings described by acre, half-acre, quarter-acre, and even smaller pieces, with 'forers', 'butts', &c., in Oxfordshire, in the north suburb of Oxford (502), Cowley, Milton, Milcombe, Shillingford; in Berkshire, in North Moreton, Wytham; in Buckinghamshire, in Dinton; in Northamptonshire, in Evenley; in Sussex, in Bodington; in Wiltshire, in Broad Blunsdon, Eastrop, and Watereaton. In all these places, as also at Gloucester (17) and in Hampshire at King's Clere (225), there is a multitude of old field-names which invite comparison and analysis.

Grants of arable land generally specify (288) how much meadow the arable carried with it. In many places just before hay-making, the common meadow was marked off, probably by pegs, into acre or half-acre strips. These were numbered, and the persons who had rights of common meadow drew lots, and chose their share for the year in the order which the lot assigned. This continued till living memory. Mr. Hurst has told me that at Cassington, north of Oxford, he has spoken with old men who not only remembered the system but also that the determination by lot proceeded by drawing stalks of hay of different length, the longest having first choice of strip. An interesting account of the system, and of another quaint method of drawing lots in use at Kidlington, Oxfordshire, is given by Rev. Vaughan Thomas in a Gough MS. (no. 91) in the Bodleian, and is partly printed in Stapleton's *Three Oxfordshire Parishes* (1893), pp. 308–11. This 'meadow by lot' system is mentioned in deeds about the Thames meadows near Oxford (606–9); at Bletchingdon (297); at Little Rissington,

Gloucestershire (187); and with extreme frequency at Cassington (369, 372, 373, 378, 382, 399, 405, 410, 420, 432).

The yardlands and fractions of yardlands possessed rights of pasture for cattle, &c., in proportion to the amount of their arable, not only over the waste of the township, but over land lying in fallow, over the common meadows after the hay had been lifted, and over the common fields when the crops had been carried. These pasture rights are often mentioned, e.g. in Oxfordshire, at Bletchingdon (287, 288, 291), Milcombe (480), and the north suburb of Oxford (623, 630); in Gloucestershire, at Meysey-Hampton (182); in Hampshire, at Woolverton in King's Clere parish (239); in Northamptonshire, at Evenley (265); in Wiltshire, at Broad Blunsdon (809). At Shillingford in Oxfordshire the deeds (720–3, 729–32) have many marginal notes drawing attention to the fact that the arable bought carried with it rights of common pasture. At Halso in Northamptonshire mention is made (278) of pasture for the full plough-team of eight oxen, and of Easter as the beginning of the season of common pasture. At Little Rissington in Gloucestershire, we find (186–7) a clear statement of the times during which meadow and arable were 'in defence', i.e. not open to pasture.

There were different degrees of common pasture. At the dissolution (*Monast.* iv. 371) we find some Godstow meadows common after the first mowing; others not common till Michaelmas.

Echyng: Assart: Vineyard: Flax.

Of much interest, but vaguely expressed, are those portions of arable and meadow which are named, echyng, heche, encrese, or encresyng (in Latin 'de incremento, in incremento'). So far as I can see, these were proportionate shares, assigned to the holdings of a township, of land brought under cultivation or enclosed as permanent meadow, at a date later than the allocation of the strips in the original common fields. Meadow so named is mentioned at Hampton Gay (463); and arable so named at Cassington (349), Meysey-Hampton (182), Eastrop (820).

Lands reclaimed from forest and brought under cultivation were called 'assarts'. There is one assart (813) at Chalworth by Cricklade, in Wiltshire; and others (238–9), described at some length, beside Woolverton Park near King's Clere in Hampshire.

An interesting feature about these assarts is, that, as they were reclaimed and put under cultivation, special provisions were made for payment by them of tithe-corn (94), 1235. From a deed of 1346, it would seem (312) that the overlord could decide which church or religious house was to receive the tithe. Care was often taken, when forest-land was parted with on permanent lease, to provide that it should not be assarted. In 1265, e.g. Henry III granted woodland (324) to Godstow, subject to its remaining forest.

The cultivation of the vine seems to have been of some importance. At Bozeat in Northamptonshire (249, 253), a vineyard was part of the lands granted to a religious house, but it was apparently so much missed that it was bought back by the donor.

At Wycombe (871) the tithe of flax is mentioned as of equal importance with the tithe of wool, and in the Godstow lease (91) of the rectory, this tithe-flax is specially reserved to the convent: 'out-take all lynnen and hemp comyng to the said chirche, the which were reserved to the Covent of Godestowe'. A similar reservation is made (871) in St. Giles's parish, Oxford. We are perhaps to think of this tithe-flax being brought to Godstow, and there spun by the abbess and her nuns.

Woodland rights.

Woodland rights were of much greater importance than now. The only fuel was wood or charcoal; farm-buildings and cottages were of wood; cattle were kept off the otherwise unprotected common fields and meadows by hurdles ('dead hedges'): so much so, that in manorial deeds of this period the cattle-herd is most commonly styled the hayward, i.e. hedge-ward. Several special benefactions to Godstow take this form, to supply one or other of these needs. 'Fowre burdyns of thornys' every day out of Cumnor wood was an early benefaction (8) by Abingdon abbey. Henry II (892) gave 'two cartis to go euery day in the wode of Shottore [Shotover, east of Oxford] to carye wode to there nede'. This privilege perhaps disturbed the king's game, since King John (894) gave Godstow 'parte of the wode of Hildesdene' in Buckinghamshire 'into an eschaunge of ii. cartis the which they had euery day walkyng to busshyng in his wode of Shottore'. Edward II was perhaps less keen on venison; he granted (739) Godstow, for the lifetime of the then abbess, fuel rights in Shotover. A quaint

reason for a grant of fuel has already been mentioned (p. xxxi). A perpetual grant of timber for repairs of a Godstow mill is found (764) at Watlington. The oak given (86) each year at Westbury, Buckinghamshire, would come in handy for repairs on Godstow houses at Brackley. The rods given in the same grant may also have served for purposes of repairs. Major Bale, in *Essex Review*, xiii. 219, says 'A common material for filling in spaces between studs of wallings was stiff clay, mixed with dry cut grass, *bedded on a foundation of hazel sticks*, and faced with rough lime stucco on the outside, and floated with fine mortar inside'. The strip of wood acquired (66) at Hughenden had perhaps reference to dilapidations on Godstow tenements in Wycombe. In this case we learn that woodland was measured by a perch or pole peculiar to itself, and not used for measuring land, 'the woodland perch.' The strip of Wychwood forest (324) held by Godstow was convenient for timber to repair tenements in Cassington and at Godstow.

Another woodland right was 'pannage', i.e. leave to pasture pigs in the woods during the acorn season. For this a lord of a manor often exacted a payment for each pig turned out. At King's Clere in Hampshire we find (238) a dispute between Godstow on the one hand, and, on the other, the church and the manor of Woolverton as to their respective rights of free pannage. In the wood of Boarstall, Buckinghamshire, a special benefaction (81–3) allowed Godstow to have forty pigs at pannage, without fee.

The right of road through a wood (287) is a special benefaction, at Bletchingdon.

Woodland rights are found specially mentioned as going with a yardland: e.g. no. 456, at Garsington.

The manorial system.

Godstow held land under lords of manors in several counties. Godstow itself was lord of several manors. Both as tenant and as lord, therefore, Godstow had full experience of the system. References to it abound in the deeds, but they are tantalizingly vague.

The charters of Stephen (872), 1139; Maud (875), 1144; and Henry II (878), 1156, conferred on Godstow court in Walton outside Oxford full manorial jurisdiction, in the pre-Norman formula 'with sok and sake, tol and team, with infange and outfange theyf'. The manor of Watereaton in Wiltshire (847–50)

was acquired before 1145. Manorial privileges in other places came by later gifts and purchases.

Manorial privileges.

The two fullest recitals of the formula concerning manorial privileges are found at Broad Blunsdon (810) in Wiltshire and at Great Tew (750) in Oxfordshire. At Broad Blunsdon Roger of Writele conveys 'all his londes and tenementis . . . with mansions, bildyngis, gardens, culverhowses, mylles, fre tenauntes, bondemen (villenagis or bonde holdes), with ther sequelis and catallis, coterellis, rentis, workyngis, helpis, wardis, relefis, eschetis, al maner fynes of londes, redempcions or ayene-biyngis of progenitours or fadirs-afore, medis, fedyngis, pastures, pondis, sutis of courtis, with all other liberteis or fredoms and fre customes longyng to the forsaid tenementis'. At Great Tew the formula is even longer, but, while it includes other points, omits some particulars contained in the preceding. Conveyance is made of 'viii. yerdis of lond, . . . with the pertynentis . . . also . . . the bodies of . . . his bonde men, with all ther catell, sewtis, and sequelis, with all ther londis and tenementis the which ben called "natif" or bonde or bonde of birthe . . . and all ther getyngis or perquisitis, with all pertynentis, as in howsis, curtilagis, londis, medis, fedyngis, pasturis, hayes, dyches, watirs, pondis, stewes, ryvers or riparies, duffehowses, mylles, weyes, pathis, scuagis, homagis, fewteys, rentis, customys, wardys, mariagis, fynys, relefis, heriettis, eschetis, sutis of courtis, and all maner of liberteis and fre customs, service, appeiamentis, reversions, or eisementis all, comyng forthe bothe of fre tenementis, or of bonde or natif, or of tenauntis holdynge in bondage or villenage'.

We may bring together here such notices as illustrate the several points of this formula.

Dove-house. The right to have a dove-house, or culver-house (from 'culver', an old word for pigeon) was a manorial right, very oppressive to the lord's neighbours, from damage done to their crops. In *An Alphabet of Tales* (edit. M. M. Banks, E.E.T.S. 1904), p. 109, there is a quaint tale illustrative of the feeling against pigeon-houses. The passion for hawking largely explains their existence. Accordingly, the dove-house is often separately mentioned in the conveyance of an estate, e.g. at Bozeat, Northamptonshire (249). Tithe of pigeon-houses is mentioned (476) as levied at Milcombe,

Oxfordshire. In 1540 the dove-house at Godstow is found in the list (*Monast.* iv. 376) of buildings of the homestead.

Mills. The obligation on tenants to have their grain ground at the lord's mill is universally known from the notices of it in Sir Walter Scott's *Monastery.* It was enforced by fines imposed in the Court Baron of the lord. Thus, in the Court Rolls of Great Waltham manor, Essex, belonging to the Earl of Essex (Public Record Office: Court Rolls 753, no. 62), in Edward I's reign, we have a fine of 6*s.* taken 'de pluribus custumariis ville quia non molaverunt ad molendinum comitis'. This obligation is twice mentioned in these deeds. The grant of Frampton mill (156) to Godstow, 1180, was made 'with all his pertinences, seutis, and liberties'. Elena, lady Zouch of Ashby, in 1279 made (276) Godstow and Godstow tenants 'free and quiet of . . . sute of her myllys' at Halso. We find that by old custom the miller was expected to grind corn for use of the lord's household free of charge. At Frampton, William of Clifford when he gave (156) the mill to Godstow, bargained that grain ground for his household should not be subject to multure; his son, Richard, by a further concession (158) agreed to pay multure.

Free tenants. Free tenants were not only personally free, but their lands were held by money quit-rents, without obligation to do regular work on demesne land of the lord. In these deeds, transfers of property generally mention the number of freeholds and the amount of their quit-rents, e.g. at Cassington (337, 386, 432); at Bozeat (249).

Bond men. In transfers of land it is usual to mention the serfs or neifs, not infrequently by name, as handed over with their families, their lands, and all their property, to the new owner. Thus, at King's Clere in Hampshire, 'for 8 shillings of sterlynges yerly' Godstow transferred (227) to Nicholas of Clere 'John i-called Aylmer, sumtyme her bondeman, with all hys goodys and catall and londis'. Still more explicit statements are made in the deeds concerning Great Tew, Oxfordshire (750, 757) in 1313; and Cherrington, Gloucestershire (145). Other references are:—in Berkshire at North Moreton (19); in Northamptonshire at Bozeat (249); in Oxfordshire at Asthall-Leigh (281), Cassington (384), Fencot (448), Minster Lovell (489); in Sussex at Bodington (791).

It has to be added, however, that, as a rule, serfs' holdings came

to be granted to the tenant, his heirs, and assigns, subject only to certain payments and services, so that, long before the dissolution, the acreage of land directly under control of the monastic houses was greatly reduced by the portioning off of copyholds in addition to the old freeholds.

Land held in villeinage for the serf's life seems to have differed from ordinary leaseholds for life-term in not requiring licence in mortmain (p. xl) to sanction the grant (539).

Coterells. These were bondmen who held a small portion of land, a coteland (344) or cotland.

Rents. By this word is meant chiefly quit-rents, small fixed yearly payments in virtue of which freeholders held their lands of the manor, and similar payments in money or in kind exacted from those serfs' holdings which afterwards became copyholds. Certain Cassington holdings (432) supply good examples of the latter. In the north suburb of Oxford a holding (509), in 1286, paid Godstow yearly 18*d.* and two hens, each hen valued at 1½*d.* At King's Clere, Hampshire, we have a rent of two fat hens at Martinmas (218), and another rent of 4 horseshoes (221).

In rents, paid under terms of ordinary leases, we find the same form of payment: e.g. at Chalworth in Wiltshire, a rent (813) of 5*s.* in money and of half a quarter of wheat.

Workings. A large part of the work on the demesne land was done by the serf-tenants, as part of their yearly payment for the lands they held of the manor, the tenant being in some grants required to provide the labour of one man, in other grants, of two men. About 1230, we find a piece of meadow (606) near Oxford held by payment of quit-rent and by the ploughing of 1 acre. Such services were extremely common in hay-time and harvest. Good examples are found at Bloxham in Oxfordshire (313) and at Broad Blunsdon in Wiltshire (818), where a marginal note in the Register draws attention to 'the cestum yn heruyste'. Several holdings in St. Giles's parish, Oxford, were subject to specified days of labour on Godstow land there (620, 628–9). The Latin name for a day's work on these conditions was *precaria.* By old agreement or custom, the lord of the manor (313) provided the labourer with his food on certain *precariae,* which were therefore called *siccae.* On other work-days, the lord provided both food and drink (818), and these were *non siccae.* Another word connected

with this custom is the 'grete bederepe in hervest' (no. 621), i.e. the day when Godstow called out everybody over whom it had a claim for labour to a joint day's work in securing the crops of the conventual demesne land. A great benefactor of monasteries, Robert Beaumont, second earl of Leicester, in granting (269) Godstow a ploughland at Halso in Northamptonshire granted also exemption from works to his manor. There is an interesting example (228) at King's Clere, Hampshire, of the substitution of a money-rent for the works, made subject to a return in certain contingencies to the old services.

Scutage, the claim by the lord that each piece of land held of him shall pay a contribution when this tax is asked, has been already mentioned (p. xxxiv). We find, in the same way, the lord of a manor subjecting all holdings under the manor to payment of their share when the king imposed tallage (104), and in legal formulae the land remained nominally subject to this burden long after the impost had ceased to be made.

Homage and *fealty*. Homage was the formal recognition by a tenant on entering the fee that he held the land of the lord and owed him service and submission for it (313). Fealty was the oath taken by a tenant on entering the fee that he would be true to the lord. Homage was rendered[1] by the tenant holding 'his hands together betweene the hands of his Lord', fealty by the tenant holding 'his right hand upon a booke', but practically there seems little difference between the two. On doing fealty, a fee had to be paid to the steward of the manor.

Helps were certain ancient customary charges, by which, e.g. the lord of a manor asked contributions from his tenants to meet the expense of making his eldest son a knight, and of providing a marriage portion for his daughter. Except in the formula, they are unnoticed in the deeds. 'Yelde' (432) seems to be a commutation-charge in lieu of them.

Wards. The right to appoint a guardian, and charge a fee for the appointment, is definitely mentioned in 1307, in connexion with a Godstow property in St. Mary's parish, Oxford (662). At Broad Blunsdon in Wiltshire (806), a landowner bargains, for himself and his heirs, for a fee on occasion of each new appointment

[1] Dr. John Cowell's *The Interpreter* (1607).

of an abbess of Godstow, in consideration of his wardship (during the vacancy) of Godstow rights over the land held of his manor.

Marriage, in the manorial sense, is not mentioned except in the formula. A serf might not marry without licence of his lord, and he might not give his daughter in marriage without licence; and for this licence a fee was charged.

Heriot was the lord's claim to the best beast owned by a deceased serf. In lieu of it, land was sometimes subjected to a money-payment, the heriotable fine. In Fencot, Oxfordshire, Richard Bere, accepting (454) a grant of land from Godstow, bargained that 'for heriette and relefe' after his death, or the death of his heir, only £2 10*s.* shall be charged. His successor obtained (455) a reduction of the charge to £1 16*s.*

Relief was a sum paid by a tenant entering into possession of a freehold, whether by succession or purchase. At this time it seems to have been fixed by bargain between lord and tenant. At Garsington (456), before taking over lands held by quit-rent of half-a-marc (6*s.* 8*d.*), the new tenants bargained that 'if hit hapnid that relef sholde be gife therof, thei sholde not gife but 1 besaunde of golde for relefe'. The gold bezant was perhaps worth a marc and a half (£1). 'Resonable relef' is often expressly reserved (804, 820, 826) by a grantor, when he exempts the land granted from all other manorial claims. At a later date we find relief fixed by custom at a sum equal to the yearly quit-rent by which the land was held. Whether this was regarded as 'resonable' at the time of these deeds, there is no means of saying.

Fines. The commonest fine on land was a sum exacted by the lord from the person who was about to enter on tenancy of a serf-holding, lands held in 'villeinage'. Its amount was generally settled by bargain between lord and serf. Such holdings afterwards became copyholds. Except in the formulae, these fines are not mentioned.

Escheats were holdings forfeited to the lord in consequence of breach of some customs of the manor (see below, under *Customs*).

Reversions were holdings which returned to the lord, after the death of a life-rentor, or of the last person entitled to it in an entail (see p. lxiv, and p. lxvi).

Customs. These were very numerous. Two may be brought in here, because mentioned in the deeds. Lands and houses in villeinage, or held by any tenure which approached to what is

afterwards called copyhold, was strictly subjected to *obligation to keep in good repair*. Neglect of repairs was one of the breaches of manorial law which justified recall of the grant and re-entry of the lord into possession of the holding, however small the quit-rent which he held over it. The Godstow example is a good one. In Holywell, Oxford, about 1200, Godstow held certain houses (634), and was threatened with pains and penalties by the feudal superior, the rector of St. Peter's in the East, Oxford, unless they were put in repair. Doubtless these were the houses (636) afterwards held from Godstow by Fowke cordwainer by a quit-rent of 4*s.* 4*d.*, but held by Godstow from St. Peter's rectory by a quit-rent of 8*d.*

Harbourage is also mentioned. In 1247, in a suit (451) before the justices at Oxford, the holder of lands at Fencot, Oxfordshire, stated that his ancestors had paid for them to the feudal superiors '5*s.* bi yere and to find to hem herborowh', and craved that in future he might hold the lands by payment of 8*s.* 4*d.* yearly (without herborowh) with 'homage and resonable relefe'. This harbourage was probably house-room and entertainment for the superior or his representative when they made a tour of the estates. A similar claim for hospitality by the archdeacon and his company, on his visitations, was regarded as so formidable a burden that Godstow, at its foundation, bargained (866–7) for exemption from it. The last stage of this charge seems presented to us at Winchester, where the grantor of property reserves (236) to himself house-room in it when he needs it, but promises to pay for his use of it. Compare also the clause in the lease (91) of Wycombe rectory, where Godstow provides that 'the abbesse in her every comyng shold have easementis of houses' in the dwelling-house and out-buildings.

'*Redempcions* or ayene biyngis *of progenitours* or fadirs afore,' is an example of a common trick of the translator who constantly gives a double rendering of one Latin word, one rendering being pompous, the other simple. Here the Latin is 'redemptiones antecessorum'. I suppose that the reference is to payments by serfs to purchase their emancipation.

Meadows, &c. The clause 'in pratis, pascuis, et pasturis' constantly recurs. Its import has been explained (pp. li, lii).

Hayes. The hedges meant, I suppose, are growing-hedges, which were lopped at intervals to provide faggots. The right to

them constituted one of the woodland-rights (p. liii) attached to a manor, or to land held of it. Timber-trees growing in such hedges on serfs'-holdings belonged to the manor, and were jealously watched (p. lxiv) by the lord.

'Dyches, watirs, *pondis*, stewes, ryvers or riparies.' Every right to the fish in stream or pond was carefully guarded by the landholder entitled to it. Under pre-Reformation régime, and before improved land-carriage brought into country-places the harvest of the sea, freshwater fish, however coarse, were of much greater value than now. There are in these deeds numerous indications of the high value attaching to rights of fishery. Fish from Thames and Cherwell still find their way to the slabs of Oxford fish-shops: but nowadays the fishery attached to King's Weir in the Thames above Godstow would hardly be reckoned (4, 772) as a chief item in an estate; nor would fisheries in Cherwell (540), perhaps by Parson's Pleasure, or in the Thames at Cassington (430), bring in a rent as large as that of a farm. Tithe of the eel-ponds at Woodstock (894) was a king's gift. In the same way, when a water-mill is mentioned, express notice is taken of its fishery-rights in its mill-ponds, as at Seckworth (25) on a branch of Thames, south-west of Godstow, and at Duxford (15) on Thames, north of Godstow. In 1540 (*Monast.* iv. 371) we find the fishery at King's Weir let along with Wolvercote mill, at a rent of £6 for the two. Even meadows have their fishery-right reckoned into their value, as the Wyke (623) in Port Meadow at Oxford. A pond on a Gloucestershire farm is counted worthy of separate mention (182).

Ways, paths. Rights of way were of considerable importance. One was a subject of a grant to Godstow (287) at Bletchingdon. At King's Clere in Hampshire Godstow promised (239) to grant rights of way over their lands. At Cassington Godstow purchased land to make a way (408). At Cassington also in an exchange of lands (327), part of the bargain is for land to get access to the rest of the holding. The pasture and grass of such ways was of value.

Suits of Court. Suit of Court meant that the tenant was bound to attend, and to serve as juryman in, the manorial courts, or to purchase exemption. Originally the court met every third week, and tenants were bound to attendance at all meetings. At Broad Blunsdon (818) in Wiltshire tenants 'shall make sute of courte fro three wokys unto thre wokys'. And so at Cassington in Oxford-

shire (432). Afterwards the court met at irregular intervals, but tenants were bound to attend whenever summoned. Thus, at Meysey Hampton (184), Gloucestershire, Godstow requires a tenant to make 'sute to the courte of Eton [Water-eaton manor in Wiltshire, belonging to Godstow] at the wille of the abbesse or of her baillifes, as other tenantes of the same abbesse'. Tenants often bargained for a minimum of attendances. Near Oxford, we find Godstow tenants subject to only (628) 'twyes by the yere, sute to ther courte of Walton', or (626) 'sute of ii. chief courtes,' i. e. those held on the same day as the leet-courts.

Apart from the Court Baron was the Court Leet, which met at this time at least once a year, on a day (fixed by the custom of the manor) in Eastertide or Whitsuntide. In the case of Godstow's manor of Walton the usual Leet-day was the second Tuesday after Easter, 'Hock-day' as it was called. A second leet, held about Michaelmas, also occurs. The Court Leet represented a measure of the king's authority, delegated to the lord of the manor. It controlled brewers, bakers, butchers, shoemakers, and other tradesmen; judged and punished cases of larceny, assault, and breach of the peace; punished persons who obstructed roads or blocked rights of way, or neglected to repair roads or bridges. At this court, therefore, a large attendance was desirable, and the deed (622) which bound a Godstow tenant to attend 'twey grete courtis at Myghelmasse and at Hokkeday' is no doubt a typical one.

This burden was often the subject of special grants to Godstow. Thus, Roger de Quincy, second earl of Winchester, about 1260, granted (275) Godstow as a corporate body the privilege of non-attendance at his court at Brackley, but retained for Godstow tenants the obligation to personal attendance.

In 1540 (*Monast.* iv. 374) we find Godstow paying a fixed sum of 2*s.* as 'suit-fine' for leave of absence from the manorial court: e. g. to the duke of Norfolk's court at Bramber castle, for the Sussex estate; to the earl of Huntingdon's court for the lands at Dinton, Buckinghamshire.

Outward and inward service.

The services which a holding owed to the feudal superior of whom it was held were called 'inward service', a term which therefore includes all the burdens described above as privileges of

the manor. 'Outward service', or 'foreign service', meant the services which were due elsewhere, e. g. to the king. Thus, land at Evenley in Northamptonshire was granted (265) to Godstow, free 'fro all seruice owtewarde and inwarde for evir'. A Godstow grant (117) in Wycombe subjects the land conditionally to outward service, exemption being given from 'all demaundis, but hit were to a forrenge courte and that at ther resonable warnyng'.

Outward services due by land.

Lands owed suit and fees to the courts of the larger units, the honour, the hundred, the thrithing, and the shire (or the burgh). Our information as to Godstow's share of these comes chiefly from *Monasticon*, iv. 371–5, where, in 1540, we find Godstow paying (*a*) to the bailiff of the honour of Wallingford *2s.* for lands in Cassington and *6s. 8d.* for those at Wycombe; (*b*) *6d.* for the yardland at Ledwell, to Wooton hundred; *4s.*, for the Oxford St. Giles's property to Northgate hundred to be excused attendance at the hundred court; (*c*) *2s.* to the sheriff of Gloucester, for property in Gloucester, to be excused attendance at the sheriff's court; (*d*) *3s. 9d.* to the hustings court of Oxford town, to be excused attendance at that court, for their Oxford town property. Two deeds about Godstow's duty to the hundred-court of Stapel or Highworth occur 853–4.

Lands had also to contribute their share to the fines by which the community made good the crimes of individuals, as also to the corvées exacted by the king, when these imposts were charged. The chief mention of these is in the charter (886) of Henry II, which provided, 1182, that Godstow should be 'vtterly quyte fro shires and hundredis, pleis and playntis, helpys and assises, yelde and danegelde, of murthere and of theeft, of scuage, yiftis, scottis, and workes of castels and howses, walles, parkes, stywys, dichis, and briggis, of summage and cariage, of warde peny and aver peny, hundrede peny and thederyng peny'. This exemption seems to have extended only to the properties which Godstow then had. Land at Rissington, Gloucestershire, was conveyed (188) to Godstow 'acquyted of all sutes, that is to sey, of shire and hundred and of ridyng, uttirly'. At King's Clere land was granted (223) to Godstow free of 'sewte of courtes of shyrys, hundredys, law-day', the last being the court leet (60). 'Ward penny' was a contribution to the payment of the garrison of the chief castle in

the district. In Berkshire, e.g. a small holding (34) at Wytham paid a half-penny 'to the warde of Wyndesore whan hyt comyth, at every terme i-sette by the yere'. In Essex, in 1350, the bishop of London's tenants at Wickham Bishops, near Maldon, paid 'ward-penny' yearly at Hock-day to the castle at Bishop's Stortford, in Herts.

Management of estates.

Leases and grants by Godstow and other landowners occupy a very large part of the Register. We may therefore condense the information contained in them and reduce it to order, taking, first of all, agricultural land, and next, house property.

Leases of lands.

Leases for terms of years. We have a ten-years lease (696), with compensation to tenant for improvements made during the lease; a twelve-years lease (813), with (contrary to the usual practice) power to sublet; a sixteen-years lease (482), with tillage speculations; a lease (630) for ten years certain, with extension to a second ten years term, if either husband or wife live so long, with right to the standing crops at the end of the lease, but reservation by the lessor of powers to resume possession if the land is not tilled every year. Tillage conditions occur among the complicated provisions of the lease (91) of Wycombe rectory. There are two instances (524, 620) of permanent increase of rent, because the lessor had advanced money on the land. Leases (431, 483) often expressly reserve the timber. Power of distraint for rent is reserved (630) over even the plough-beasts, in contradiction of the old feudal custom of waynage.

Leases for lives. Of leases for one life, a typical instance (184) specifies payment of a lump sum, a small yearly rent during the lease, and suit to court. In another (627) £2 6*s.* 8*d.* was paid down; the rent per annum per acre was 6*d.*; suit to court is not mentioned. Among leases for two lives, we may instance a lease (453) to husband and wife and the longest liver of them; a similar lease (742), but with reservation by the lessor of right of re-entry at the end of the first ten years another (818), with extension for one year after the second decease, to allow of the estate being wound up. A fishery is leased (540) to the longest

liver of two partners. Among leases for three lives, we have a lease (637) to husband, wife, and daughter; a lease (663) to husband, wife, and possibly son-in-law; a lease (731) to husband, wife, and son, with obligation on the lessor to find straw for repairs.

A complicated lease (228) at King's Clere granted the land to the son on payment of rent in money, but if he predeceased his father, it was to pass in life-rent to the father, to be held not by money but by the old services (p. lviii).

Perpetual leases are found, e.g. to St. Oswald's priory, Gloucester, of land (174) in Gloucester; and to Burford priory, of land (284) at Asthall-leigh, after trouble (283) about the rent. Grants to heirs and assigns abound, amounting to perpetual leases, at a small quit-rent.

In 1540 (*Monast.* iv. 371) we find the receiver-general of Godstow making two progresses each year to collect the rents.

Leases of house-property.

Leases of house-property bind the tenant to keep the buildings in repair; forbid subletting without leave; and reserve powers of distraint and re-entry. After these general features we have a great variety of special provisions. We have leases for 40 years (632); for 40 years (710), unless cut short by death of the lessee; for 60 years (631). We have also leases for lives, as (685) to husband and wife; or (706) to husband for life and to his wife during her widowhood; frequently (261, 263, 629, 656) to husband, wife, and son, and (648) to husband and wife and for life-term of their children.

Building leases.

There are several leases with definite provisions as to new buildings to be erected on the site. Thus, there is an agreement (85) to remit arrears of a rent-charge, on condition of the tenant rebuilding; a lease (180) for 70 years, the tenant being bound to 'make oon competente howse newe there, with his own costes and expensis, within the 3ere next folowyng'; a lease (655), to husband and wife and the longest liver of them; a lease (683), to husband and wife, the rent to be raised after the first ten years; a lease (628), to husband, wife, and daughter, and to the longest liver of them; a lease (633), to husband, wife, and daughter, but the whole term of the lease not to exceed 20 years.

Grants to heirs of body.

Grants of house-property are often made to people and their heirs of body, and form a sort of long lease of speculative duration. A messuage (625) was granted to Richard of Handborough and 'his heiris of his body lawfully i-gote', at a quit-rent of 13*s.* 4*d.* yearly, with suit to court twice a year, under obligation to repair, and not to transfer the property without leave. Another messuage (626) was granted to Robert of Milton 'and to the heires of his body lawfully begote', quit-rent to be 13*s.* 4*d.* yearly, with 'ii. dayes journey in hervest', twice suit of court, under covenant not to sell or assign, and under obligations to repair and to find a 'borow' (surety) for payment of the rent. Similarly, two messuages (693) were granted to William le gloser 'and to his heires of his body i-gote'; quit-rent to be 1*d.* at Easter; the property not to be sold, given away, or mortgaged; if said William die without heir of body, 'anon after the decesse' the messuages shall 'turne agayn' to the grantor and his heirs.

Special provisions in leases.

Some exceptional provisions of the leases may be brought together, as acquiring added interest by comparison.

In 1331, in the lease (91) of Wycombe rectory we have an anticipation of the 'war-risks' of modern insurance. The lessees '*pease I-supposed and had of that countre*, shold susteyne and leve that manere aforsaid in al so good state or better then they resceived hit, and they sholde repaire sufficiantly the chauncell of the said chirche in all coueryng to all that terme aforsaid, *all casis of fortune out-take* (*the which shold not be put to them*)'.

The provisions in prospect of accident by fire or flood are noteworthy. In Oxford, the tenant of Ship hall was bound (562) to rebuild, if the fire began in the house itself: if the fire came from outside, the lessor was to be responsible. In the country, where the buildings stood alone, the tenant was made to take all risks. The grant (161), subject to a yearly quit-rent, of Frampton mill gave Godstow extensive powers of distraint to compel the tenant to rebuild if the mill were 'drownid, brennid, or distruid bi defaute of amendinge'. So also (15) at Duxford mills.

An agreement (143) as to payment of a rent-charge from Maiden-Newton, Dorsetshire, contains odd arrangements as to payment at

a given place and entertainment of the messenger who brought the money during his necessary stay at that place.

Special covenants in leases.

In one lease (631) for a long term of years, a clause is inserted granting the lessee or his heir the first offer of a new lease when the old one expires.

Several of the distraint clauses have individual peculiarities. In one grant (136) the tenant is bound, in his own disparagement, to keep up on the site of a house 'sufficient to neme and to distreyne for the forsaid rente and the arreragis of hit, yf ther happened ony'. In other agreements (460–1) the tenant finds sureties who jointly with him pledge themselves to submit to distraint either by the bailiff of Godstow or by an officer of the king. At Duxford (9, 15) and in St. Michael's North Gate, Oxford (678), and at Gloucester (176), we seem to have acceptance of permanent reduction in the amount of a rent-charge in order to secure more effective powers. At Asthall-leigh (283) we have a peculiar case. The tenant, after incurring a considerable debt for arrears of quit-rent, had granted a ten years lease of the property to a sub-tenant. This sub-tenant paid Godstow a fee to persuade the convent not to distrain on the property for the arrears until after his lease had run out. The 'custom of Oxford' as regards sale of goods seized in distraint is mentioned (628), about 1300.

Terms of payment.

There is an extraordinary variety in the dates at which rents and quit-rents were required to be paid.

In the case of payments once a year, Michaelmas was probably the most usual term. Next in frequency come Easter and Christmas, the one occurring about as often as the other. Then, Whitsuntide and Martinmas (Nov. 11), less frequently than the preceding, but about an equal number of times with each other. We have also:—Hilary (Jan. 13: 174), Ladyday (March 25: 180), Octave of Easter (384), Peter and Paul (June 29: 394), Lammas (Aug. 1: 351), Bartholomew (Aug. 24: 586), Nativity of Mary (Sept. 8: 641), Frideswyde (Oct. 19: 683), Lucy (Dec. 13: 813), Thomas the apostle (Dec. 21: 429).

Half-yearly payments are most frequently at Ladyday and

Michaelmas, but Easter and Michaelmas are often found. We have also Natale of Mary (Jan. 1) and Michaelmas (13); Candlemas (Feb. 2) and Midsummer (161); Ladyday (91) and Margaret (July 20); Ladyday and Lammas (84); Ladyday (268) and Assumption of Mary (Aug. 15); Ladyday (524) and All Saints (Nov. 1); Midlent and Michaelmas (217); Palm Sunday and Michaelmas (526); Easter Monday and Michaelmas (548, 549); Hockday (2nd Tuesday after Easter) and Michaelmas (815); Hockday and All Saints (664); Ascensiontide and Martinmas (630); Whitsuntide and Martinmas (195); Octave of Whitsuntide and Octave of Martinmas (241); Octave of Whitsuntide and Octave of All Saints (308); Midsummer and Michaelmas (223); Midsummer (70) and Andrew (Nov. 30); Midsummer and Thomas Apostle (461); Midsummer and Christmas (488). The combination Sexagesima Sunday and Midlent Sunday (252) was made under special circumstances. It renders possible the conjunction of Michaelmas and Christmas (279).

The most frequent set of quarterly terms is Easter, Midsummer, Michaelmas, and Christmas. Another common set is Ladyday, Midsummer, Michaelmas, Christmas; and another Ladyday, Midsummer, Michaelmas, Thomas Apostle. We are told (685) that Thomas Apostle was the usual term-day in Oxford. Another combination is (56) Easter, Michaelmas, Martinmas, Christmas.

Payments at three terms of the year are also found, especially at Brackley in Northamptonshire. Candlemas, Midsummer, Michaelmas (257, 855); Candlemas, Whitsuntide, Michaelmas (256, 263, 617); Candlemas, Trinity Sunday, Michaelmas (261).

Payments in money and in kind.

Payments of rent wholly or partly in kind have been mentioned (p. lvii). The same thing occurs with ordinary bargains and purchases. Thus, for land in St. Giles, Oxford (583) an annuity of 6 quarters of wheat was asked. Other payments are:—3*s.* and 1 quarter of wheat (387); 1 marc of silver and half a quarter of beans (408); 10*s.* of silver and 12 bushels of wheat (404); 7 marcs and two loads of barley (572). At Gloucester (173) payment is made in money, in wheat, and in rye. We have also (215) £3 18*s.* 4*d.* in money, and two silver cups; and (384) £46 13*s.* 4*d.* in money with a palfrey 'of the price of v. marc'; and (601) 40*s.* to the hus-

band and to the wife ' 1 curtell (kirtle) of Irissh clothe '. Of complimentary payments between great folk we find (197) silver cups given for a grant. Of farm bargains, we have (480) surrender of a lease and of certain standing crops in lieu of any money payment.

Marriage and dower.

Frequent allusions are found to the relations between property and married women, but, as was to be expected, they are all very slight. Dr. John Cowell, in *The Interpreter* (1607), under the word ' dower ' bewails the confounding in English law, under the same name, of two distinct things (*a*) the portion given to a wife by her own kindred, (*b*) the rights over her husband's property acquired by the wife through her marriage.

The former of these, viz. lands belonging to the wife in her own right, were at this time often called ' marriage ', and examples occur in nos. 145, 342, 517, 862. The variant ' fre marriage ' applied specially to grants in which the wife's kinsman gave the land free from feudal superiorities for two generations. Instances occur (353, 749) of the deed of entail by which the *maritagium* was governed. The recognition of the necessity of providing a portion for a marriageable woman is attested by the deed (482) in which Maud Race raises money for her ' grete nede, that is to sey, to mary her doughtirs ', and in the confirmation (484) of that deed by her son.

The rights which came to the wife by her marriage were of two sorts. In some cases, the amount of the jointure which the widow should enjoy was determined by a special gift (650), made by the husband according to old custom at the door of the church on coming out from the wedding. In the absence of such special provision, the widow was entitled, for her widowhood, to a third part of her husband's lands (268). Instances abound in which Godstow, having bought a property from the husband, after his death buys also the widow's jointure-right. Thus (415) at Cassington a widow ' in her lawfull wedowhode and with her owne fre wille, relesed and quyte-claimed to . . . Godstow . . . for ever, all her right and clayme that she had or in ony wyse myght have by the name of her dowre . . . in all . . . londes . . . that at that tyme were or ever shold be of the fee of William somtyme her husbonde '. Similarly, at Milcomb, a widow surrendered (481) ' all

the right and clayme that she had or myght have by the name of her dowry in the third parte of xvi. acres of arable lond' once held by her husband. It would appear (482–4) that, before a widow could grant a lease of her jointure-land, she had to obtain the consent of the reversionary heir.

In one deed (379) the 'marriage' and the 'dower' seem joined together, the text running 'all her right that she had or might have bothe by her dowry and by-cause of her marriage'.

It is probably to the reversionary rights of the wife to jointure, and of the son to inheritance, that we are to ascribe the addition of complimentary payments to the wife, or to the wife and son, beyond the payment to the actual seller of the land. Isold of Middleton, buying (601) the interest of Thomas Scott and his wife Lucy in a messuage, 'yaf to them xl. shillings of sterlyngis before handis in warison and i curtell to the said Luce of Irissh clothe.' At Rissington, Gloucestershire, the purchaser paid (188) to the seller of the land 'before handis vi. mark of silver, and to Sibile his wyf, xii*d.*', and Godstow, in the same parish (190), paid to the seller 'ix. marke of silver into waryson, and to Sibille his wyf, half a marke'. Similarly, at Cassington, a purchaser gave (336) to the seller and his wife 'ii. besauntis and to William his sone a swerde price of xii*d.*'; and another paid (344) to the seller and his wife 'xx. shillings of sterlyngis and to Peter ther sone and heire, xii*d.*' Other references are 188, 463, 574.

Genealogies.

Mr. J. Horace Round has shown that certain of these Godstow deeds (847–9) furnish the clue which explains an intricate point in the history of the Earldom of Hereford. It is possible that slight additions to other family trees, as, e. g. to that of the Despencers, may be made by experts, now that all the Godstow deeds are accessible.

Money.

Two circumstances show that, for the most part, the penny was the unit of reckoning in the people's thoughts. Where the amount is one shilling it is never so expressed, but always twelve-pence, xii*d.* We find (353, 439) 'pennies' used as equivalent to 'money'. The best instance occurs in 1259, when, in regard of 53 marcs

(£35 6*s.* 8*d.*), the place is specified (76) in which 'the seyd penyes shold be payd'.

In the deeds, in reckonings by pennies, we have certain sets of multiples of the penny whose constant recurrence suggests three primitive ways of counting by application of the fingers. For large sums, we assume that a bag of pennies was emptied on a table and that all the fingers and thumbs of both hands were used to push out tens. We have thus an extremely common series, 10*d.*, 20*d.*, 40*d.*, 80*d.* This last, i. e. 6*s.* 8*d.*, is the oft-mentioned half-marc. Its double, 160*d.*, is the marc (13*s.* 4*d.*), and was the unit in general use to express the larger sums of money. For smaller sums, one way of count may have been with the fourth and little fingers folded in and the thumb and two fingers used to push out threes, so yielding the constantly recurring series, 3*d.*, 6*d.*, 9*d.*, 12*d.*, 15*d.*, 18*d.*, 21*d.* The four fingers without the thumb account for another set of multiples, 4*d.*, 8*d.*, 12*d.*, 16*d.*

Where the shilling is used as the unit, the reckoning proceeds by the same multiples of ten, three, four. The pound is rarely mentioned, its place being taken by 20*s.*, 40*s.*, 60*s.*, 80*s.*, 100*s.* The crown is not mentioned, but its existence may be perhaps inferred from our never finding 30*d.*, but always 2*s.* 6*d.* (i. e. half a crown).

The bezant of gold is mentioned once (456). The bezant of silver, probably worth 2*s.*, occurs more frequently (336, 527, &c.). This 2*s.*, coin is also called (151) a gulden.

In almost every place where money is mentioned, the words 'of silver' or 'of sterlings' are added; thus (352) 'x. marke of siluer', and (617, 844) '1*d.* of siluer', and (350) 'xx. shillings of sterlyngis'. Note must be made, however, of the deed (466) at Langford, on the debatable land between Berkshire and Oxfordshire, which directs payment of 'xii*d.* at Estir of the most used money in the towne of Langeford, unto the workes of' Lincoln Minster.

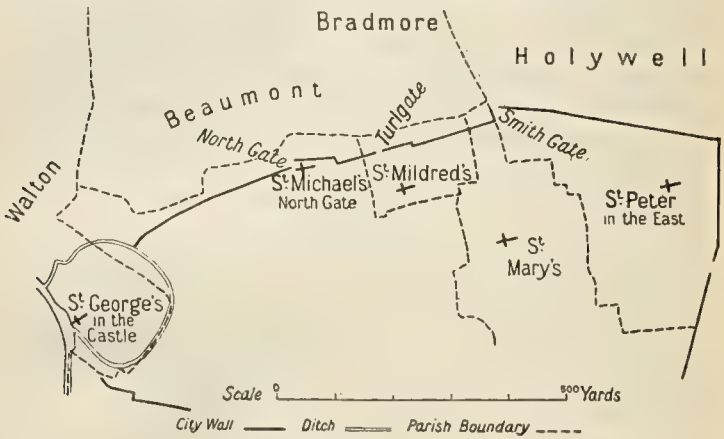
Ecclesiastical Notes.

The foregoing notes have all had reference to matters civil. We turn now to church affairs and find bits of information, scanty and scrappy, but capable of being soldered into distinct heads.

Formation of parishes.

We have several hints as to the manner in which English land became portioned out into parishes. Perhaps the most interesting

of these deeds, being also the ones in which Godstow was most nearly concerned, describe the ecclesiastical partition of the district outside the north wall of Oxford between the parallel streams of Thames and Cherwell, which formed part of the ancient franchises (p. xxi) of the town. The suggestion of these deeds is that, just after the Norman conquest this district presented only bare fields and meadow, the tillers of the soil perhaps driving out their cattle from the shelter of the city wall and trench in the morning and bringing them back in the evening. At this time the land was known by three vague names, Walton being the strip which lay nearest the Thames on the west, Holywell skirting the Cherwell on the east and extending northwards as far as Wolvercote, and Beaumont (continued northwards by Bradmore) occupying the middle space. Ecclesiastically, Walton and Beaumont belonged to the church of St. George in the Castle, Holywell and Wolvercote to St. Peter's in the East. The boundary between the two is now represented by the road which runs north past Wadham College and the Parks. A diagram will serve to make this plain.



About 1100, considerable changes were made. The castellans of Oxford, the great D'oylly family, when they turned St. George's into a conventual church, divided its parish into two, building the churches of St. Nicholas (afterwards St. Thomas Becket), to which the western suburb and Walton were assigned, and St. Mary Magdalene, which received Beaumont. Eilwyne, son of Godegose,

otherwise unknown, obtained further north a great stretch of land for the church which he built and dedicated to St. Giles, the favourite patron saint 'in the fields'. The rector of the rich benefice of St. Peter in the East built, or allowed to be built, churches at Holywell and Wolvercote, but retained them in subjection as chapels-of-ease to St. Peter's. This is shown in a second diagram.

The boundaries must have been vague, arable land then lying in intermingled strips. Hence came great lawsuits about tithes, between Oseney abbey, as rector of St. George's (and the daughter churches St. Nicholas and St. Mary Magdalene), and Godstow, as rector of St. Giles's, 1190 onwards (493–9).

In the same way, Easington, Oxfordshire, was originally a chapel-of-ease of Pirton parish, and we have a record of the suit (440) which erected it into an independent parish.

Dinton in Buckinghamshire gives a striking example of the way in which the accumulation of church lands in monastic hands impoverished and choked the growth of church life in rural England. The lord of the manor had built (60) a chapel in the hamlet of Ford in that large parish (3,800 acres), and given a yardland to the

rectory of Dinton to provide for service (64) in Ford chapel three days a week. Then, yielding to the passion of the age for conventual life, his successor bestowed (52) the rectory of Dinton, with (of course) the yardland, on Godstow, and the convent became responsible for the services alike of the parish church of Dinton and of its chapel-of-ease at Ford. Under this arrangement, the income of the church of Dinton was spent at Godstow, and the services at Dinton performed by a chaplain named by Godstow and paid such allowance as he and the convent agreed upon. We next find (64) the chaplain in question protesting that his income was too small to bear the burden of the duty in the chapel-of-ease. The Court Leet of Dinton manor (60), the king's court for the county (61), and the diocesan's official (62) successively try to compel the chaplain to maintain the services. In the end, if we may judge by a deed (65) of 1374, the inhabitants of Ford clubbed together to pay a chaplain of their own, and obtained leave from the diocesan to have the services in Ford chapel performed by this chaplain.

Water-eaton by Cricklade was, in the same way, a chapel-of-ease of Eisey parish. In this case the interests of the chapel-of-ease were watched over by Godstow, the owner of the manor of Water-eaton, and those of the parish church by its rector, being a powerful monastery, Cirencester abbey. We thus get unusually full statements (851–2) both of the services a chapel-of-ease claimed from the mother church, and of the emoluments the rectory received from the chapel.

The situation at Milcomb has peculiarities of its own. There Godstow and Einsham abbey contribute towards the settlement of a chaplain (478), and the tithes of the chapelry are the subject of dispute between two adjacent parishes, Bloxham and Wigginton.

Monastic chapels.

It is well known that the rectors of parish churches looked askance on the erection within their limits of monastic or semi-monastic chapels. They feared that the more popular chapel would lessen the reputation, offerings, and legacies of the parish church. Accordingly, among the causes of excommunication they got a clause inserted forbidding the regular clergy from inducing people (p. x) to desire burial in a conventual chapel rather than in their parish church. It was with extreme reluctance that they consented to the

building of such chapels and the opening of their services to outsiders. When a religious house was rector of a parish church it shared to the full in this antipathy to monastic chapels. In Wycombe it was only after appeal to Rome that the Master and Brethren of St. John Baptist's Hospital obtained the consent of Godstow, as rector of Wycombe, to having public services in the Hospital chapel, and even then their charter (99), in many odd particulars, compelled them to contribute to the prestige and to the revenues of the parish church.

Impropriation of rectories.

The manner in which the impropriation of rectories by monastic houses was worked is shown in one or two places. At first, the monastery took the whole revenues of the church, paying only a small pension to a cleric, who was called a chaplain of Godstow, to perform the services. The position of this cleric was doubly insecure. He might be dismissed by the bishop on ecclesiastical grounds. The privileges of Godstow entitled the abbess to remove him from his chaplaincy, much at her own will and pleasure. This was the state of affairs created by the grant (4, 866) of Alexander, Bishop of Lincoln, in 1139; confirmed, fifty years later, by Bishop Hugh of Avalon (869); confirmed also (902) by Pope Celestine III, about 1192. It would appear that the Lateran Council, 1215, dealt with this matter. At any rate, immediately after its session, we find chaplains paid at the discretion of and removable at the will of the abbess replaced by perpetual vicars, who cannot be removed except by the bishop for ecclesiastical offence, and are paid by certain dues and tithes secured by the deed which established the vicarages. Hence we have the long and interesting deed (871), in which Bishop Hugh of Welles, 1221, 'ordeyned, by the autorite of the councel, in the churchys of Wycombe, Bloxham, and of seynt Gylys without Oxenford . . . perpetual vicarys at the presentacion of . . . Godstowe.'

The grant of a rectory was often made subject to the life-interest of the then rector, as at Bloxham (306) and Dinton (53), and the impropriation was delayed till his death or cession.

Another plan was to assign to the monastic house a pension out of the revenues of the church, and, subject to that charge, to leave the parson of the church in his former position. This was done at

Lamyat in Somerset (780–1), Farringdon in Hampshire (207), Easington in Oxfordshire (442), St. Mary le Crypt in Gloucester (163–4), and Daglingworth in Gloucestershire (150). From the number of confirmations and suits connected with such pensions, it is plain that the tax was bitterly resented by the parochial clergy.

There is a lease (91) of the rectory of Wycombe in 1331, which contains many interesting details.

Tithes.

The deeds contain a multitude of references to tithe, but the information is often vague, and much of the earlier part results in mere guess-work.

In the earliest period of all, the suggestion of the deeds is that a lord of a manor was under obligation to pay tithes, but had free choice of the church to which he paid them. In the next period, we find the tithe-payer assigning his tithes permanently to some particular church or convent, by a deed which neither he nor his heirs could afterwards recall. Thus, before 1140, Walter, archdeacon of Oxford, assigned to St. Giles's church the tithe of his land (570) in Walton, but to Godstow the tithe of his land (436) in Cutslow. At Sewkeworth, we have three separate assignments of tithe (25–7), tithe of the corn-mills to Godstow, tithe of the fulling-mills to Godstow, tithe of meadow to Sewkeworth church. At Wycombe, certain land-owners had assigned the tithes of their lands (93–4) to Bec abbey in Normandy. At Bloxham, Amary of St. Amand assigned (310) the tithes of his lands to Godstow; and as late as 1338, Sir Roger Beauchamp granted (312) the tithes of his Bloxham lands to Godstow. In this latter instance, the grant included tithe of assarts (p. liii).

From the Wycombe deeds (93–4) the inference is that, when the lord of a manor bestowed his tithe on a church other than the church of the parish in which his lands lay, church custom strictly reserved to the parish church the tithe of each thirtieth acre.

We find a multitude of suits about tithe, many of them decided only after appeal (xlvii) to Rome.

The ground of dispute was often indistinctness of boundaries, as apparently at Walton outside Oxford (493, 498–9) and at Milcombe near Bloxham (476–7). In other cases a papal privilege clashed with the common law of England. In 1192 Pope Celestine III's

charter (902) granted to Godstow that 'no man shall presume to take or aske of yow tythes of youre noualle that ye tele with youre hondes or costis, or of the norisshyng of youre bestis, or of the frutes of youre trees, or of the usis of fisshyngis'. *Novale* is defined (31) as 'a feld yerly tyllyd, or ellys euyry other year', i. e., apparently, not permanent arable, and so never under crop for more than one year at a time or for more than two crops. It would thus correspond to outfield cultivation as depicted in Scott's *Monastery*, chap. xiii. The claim (31) of the parson of Wytham for tithe was repelled, in 1245, because the croft of which the tithe was claimed was of this cultivation. Part of the claim (775) by the vicar of St. Peter in the East in Wolvercote was rejected, in 1239, because of the above-cited privilege as regards Godstow cattle. The exemption from paying tithes on fishings seems stretched to imply exemption from paying tithes on the mills to which (p. lxi) the fisheries were often attached. The claim of the vicar of St. Peter in the East just mentioned included a demand for tithe of Wolvercote mills, which was set aside because of this privilege: and so also (160) the claim of the parson of Frampton, in 1229, for the tithe of Frampton mill. Other suits were begun to enforce payment of tithes which had been withheld. Thus, after impropriating the rectory of Wycombe, Godstow demanded and obtained (92) tithes of the corn and fulling-mills in that parish.

Great and small tithes.

Tithes were divided (310, 476, 777, 851–2) into 'more and less'. After the settlement of perpetual vicarages in impropriated rectories, the ordinary arrangement was to assign (as in no. 871) the great tithes to the impropriator and the small tithes to the vicar. The division-line between the two is nowhere clearly stated in these deeds, but the general result is as follows.

Small or vicarial tithe included (871) tithes of cheeses, of geese, of gardens and orchards. Also, where the stock-owner had too few new-born beasts in the year to yield a 'tithe' (or tenth) pig, lamb, or calf, there was a fixed tithe-commutation charge of ½*d.* or 1*d.* on each new-born beast. This went to the vicar, and is called (305) 'tithe of silver'.

Great or rectorial tithe is set forth in nos. 91, 312, 871. The chief item in it was the tithe of sheaves of grain of every sort, each

tenth sheaf (903) being collected on the field and conveyed to the rectory tithe-barn (851). There were also tithe of hay (otherwise called, of meadow), tithe of pasture (i. e. of new-born cattle, viz. pigs, lambs, calves), tithe of wool, tithe of flax (305) and hemp (p. liii), tithe of fullers' teazles, which seem to have all ranked as rectorial tithe.

The tithe of fish (25) and the tithe of the multures and profits of corn-mills and of the profits of fulling-mills (25–6, 92, 438) perhaps (judging by the claim in no. 775) counted as vicarial tithe.

There is also mention of the tithe of underwood (312), of the profits of hunting (894), of eel-ponds (894), and of pigeons in dove-houses (476). It may be, however, that these were special grants to a convent, and had no place among ordinary parochial tithes.

Lights in churches.

A frequent object of bequests was the maintenance of the 'light' or 'lights' in a given church. Thus, Westminster Abbey devoted the pension of £3 6*s.* 8*d.* which it received (308) out of Bloxham church 'to the sexten of the churche of Westmynster . . . to the lyht of the auter'. A burgage in Cricklade was given (815) for 'the susteynynge of a lyhte in wex a-fore the cros in the quere of the monasteri of Godestowe'. Gilbert of Biham's executors assigned a small endowment (373) to the light of the Lady chapel at Godstow. At Cassington we find (394) a quit-rent of a half-penny yearly 'to the light of our Lady of Karsynton'. This would be the light in the Lady Chapel, because Cassington is dedicated to St. Peter. In Oxford we have yearly rent-charges for lights, one (617) 'vi. *d.* to the light of seynt Gyle'; another (676) 'to the light of seynt Michell chirche at the southe yate of Oxenford ii*d.* at Cristmasse'. Elaborate directions (807) are given by Roger of Writele for wax-candles and lamps endowed by him in the churches of Broad Blunsdon and Highworth in Wiltshire. In two Godstow churches special arrangements are made (871) about the division between Godstow and the vicars of the offerings of candles. At Wycombe Godstow took the larger share; at St. Giles's, Oxford, much the less.

These offerings of candles were chiefly made on the Purification of Mary (Feb. 2), and gave that festival its popular name of Candlemas day.

The presentation of wax-candles as a mark of respect to a mother church has been noticed (p. xlvi).

Double ownership of obit or chantry lands.

In endowments to provide prayers for the soul of the donor, we find several times a double ownership established, e. g., by the lands being granted first to one monastic house and then conveyed to another monastery at a distance, but now subject to a quit-rent to the first monastery. This occurs so often that it must be intentional, and a likely motive seems to be to get additional security for the continuous performance of the commemorative services by freeing them from possibility of interruption by local causes, insurrections, pestilences, and the like. Thus, we have the conjunction of Godstow with St. James's Abbey by Northampton in the Bozeat property (249–52); of Godstow with Thame Abbey at Boarstall (81–3), of Godstow and Wroxton at Syston in Lincolnshire (240–2). Possibly, also, this would explain the conjunction of Godstow with the Norman abbey of Bertincourt at Duxford in Berkshire (9–12).

Married clergy.

In two places we may possibly trace the tradition of marriage among the clergy. At Shillingford (717), about 1140, Walter, Archdeacon of Oxford, gave to Godstow land which had belonged to a lady who is termed by him in the Latin 'Brityna amica mea', and who in the English version is styled 'his leman'. In Oxford we have (572), in 1205, 'Willelmus filius decani,' and (573) 'Willelmus filius Nigelli quondam decani Oxon.'

Minor church customs.

Presentation on the altar. The ceremony of presenting gifts by laying the gift, or the deed conferring it, on the altar is referred to several times (185, 436). In one place (186) we are told that the object of the ceremony was to ensure the undisputed possession of it to the church by bringing its violation under the provisions of the greater excommunication.

Church-scot, an offering of threshed corn at Martinmas (Nov. 11), is found at Bloxham (871), where Godstow assigned it to the vicar as part of his stipend.

In Bloxham there was an offering (possibly identical with the church-scot) of 'corn menglyd that is to sey, of whete corne and of rye' which the 'power nedy parysshens' claimed (311) for distribu-

tion as a *weekly dole*, but unsuccessfully, having no title-deed to show.

At Great Tew, Godstow provided (762) 'ii. galons of wyne or x*d*. to the parisshens of Tywe, to be communed at the fest of Ester'. This was about 1329. The practice of administering *the Eucharist in one kind only* made slower progress in England than abroad. In some places the older practice of administering in both kinds continued. In others, by way of compromise, communicants shared a cup of unconsecrated wine. This will account for the amount of wine required for the Easter communion. It was not till 1415, in the Council of Constance, that communion in one kind only was enjoined authoritatively.

The modern Easter egg appears (871) in *offerings of eggs on Easter Eve.*

The *recluse* of Meysey Hampton was of consideration enough to have a man specially attached to his service (182–3).

A shadow of baronial authority seems conferred on bishops by the archaic formula of some of the earlier deeds in which a donor intimates to the bishop a merely secular gift to the church: e. g. at Combe (861).

The *rural deans* appear as executive officers in frequent employment: the dean of Broughton (476), of Cirencester (149), of Gloucester (160), of Iffley and Great Marlow (92).

Churches are used to transact ordinary law business: e. g. St. Mary Magdalene Church, Oxford, in 1309, to seal a surrender (262) of property in Bloxham.

Thus we see that a set of documents which on first examination seems to contain nothing except barren law-terms, may yet be rich in information about the way of life and the surroundings of the people through three centuries.

In conclusion I have to express my warm thanks to the Rev. F. W. Weaver of Milton-Clevedon, the Rev. S. Spencer Pearce of Combe Longa, Falconer Madan, G. E. Cokayne, and other correspondents whose kindness in answering questions has largely made up for my distance from a library. I owe especial gratitude to our late Director for forbearance, encouragement, and valued counsel.

Andrew Clark.

Visitation of Godstow Nunnery by the diocesan, William, Bishop of Lincoln, 1432, 10 Henr. VI.

William Grey, Dean of York in 1421, was consecrated Bishop of London, 6 May, 1426, and translated to the see of Lincoln, 30 April, 1431. In the second year of his rule of Lincoln diocese, reports of lax discipline at Godstow Abbey constrained him personally to visit that nunnery. After this visitation he issued injunctions for its better government. Two years later he was vexed by reports that the Abbess and her nuns, despising his injunctions, continued in their former lax courses.

It was then the evil time of the boy-king Henry VI, born 6 Dec. 1421, crowned King of England at Westminster 6 Nov. 1429, and King of France at Paris, 17 Dec. 1431. English ascendancy in France, even under the guidance of the king's wise uncle, John, Duke of Bedford, was vanishing. Home affairs were in turmoil through the intrigues of the king's ambitious and reckless uncle, Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester. Pressure of public affairs, accordingly, in church and in state, in England and in France, prevented Bishop Grey from again personally looking into matters at Godstow. He therefore delegated his authority to Thomas Hooknorton, Abbot of Oseney (1430–1452), and Robert Thornton, a graduate in Civil and Canon Law. The text of his Commission is preserved in Bishop Grey's Register at Lincoln, fol. 167, and is here given. A translation is added, with a short comment.

It may be questioned whether the inquiry resulted in any practical reform. The Commission was issued 7 June, 1434; Bishop Grey died February, $143\frac{5}{6}$. The whole matter, presumably, would have to be gone into afresh by Grey's successor, William Alnwick.

Willhelmus, permissione diuina Lincolniensis episcopus, dilectis filiis Abbati monasterii de Oseneye, ordinis sancti Augustini, nostre diocesis, et Magistro Roberto Thorneton, in legibus licentiato, salutem, graciam et benedictionem. Address.

Visitantes iamdudum iure et auctoritate nostra ordinaria monasterium de Godestowe, ordinis sancti Benedicti, dicte nostre diocesis, tam in capite quam in membris eiusdem; ac super statu et regimine ipsius monasterii tam in spiritualibus quam in tem- Lately we visited officially Godstow Abbey,

inquiring into the conduct of its inmates.

poralibus, singularumque personarum eiusdem vita moribus et conuersatione, prout ex officii nostri debito nobis incumbebat, solicite inquirentes.

We found that great laxity prevailed,

and issued injunctions for the better rule of the nunnery, in letters directed to the Abbess and Convent,

Quia per inquisiciones huiusmodi reperiebamus euidenter nonnulla vetita et sacre religioni contraria inibi absque pudore committi, certas iniunctiones, ordinaciones, et mandata nostra, licite et canonice, pro salubriore regimine dicti Monasterii ac Abbatisse et Conuentus eiusdem fecimus eisdem, quorum tenores in scedula presentibus annexa continentur, easque et ea sub sigillo nostro praefatis Abbatisse et conuentui transmisimus, per eas, sub certis penis, in litteris nostris eisdem Abbatisse et Conuentui super hoc directis et liberatis, et per eas admissis et receptis (ad quas nos referimus, et quatenus expediat pro hic insertis haberi volumus), plenius expressatis, penitus obseruanda.

threatening penalties for neglect.

We grieve to say that rumours, too distinct to be overlooked, affirm that the Abbess and her nuns, like the dog in Prov. xxvi. verse 11, have gone back to their evil habits, making a mock of our injunctions, and flouting our threatened penalties.

Verumptamen fama publica referente, et clamosa insinuatione que tergiuersatione aliquali celari non potest, ad aures nostras, quod dolentes referimus, sepissime pervenit quod dicta Abbatissa et Conuentus, freno obediencie dissoluto et pudicicie laxatis habenis, ad prioris vite sue luxum et vomitum detestabilem vt canes impudici redeuntes, ac in inobediencie et contemptus perniciem fronte infirmata resilientes, huiusmodi ordinaciones, iniunctiones, et mandata nostra quasi pro ridiculo et ludibrio habentes, eas aut ea seu eorum aliquod obseruare, penitus et omnino, contemptibiliter et derisorie, omiserunt, et omittunt arroganter de presenti, penas predictas intrepide incurrentes in suarum graue periculum animarum, aliorum perniciosum exemplum, nostrique et iurisdictionis nostre episcopalis et ordinarie contemptum et vilipendium manifesta.

In addition, Sister Mary Browne, a peccant nun, has been smuggled out of the Convent.

Nobis igitur super premissis, et an soror Maria Browne, monialis dicti monasterii, tunc impregnata aliquibus officiariis exterioribus vel interioribus, citra dictam visitationem nostram, absque speciali nostra licencia, fuerit subtracta, aut claustrum seu septa monasterii exierit;

The Abbess has admitted a nun without licence.

aut si dicta Abbatissa aliqualem in monialem dicti monasterii iure nostro perficiendam, absque nostra speciali auctoritate et mandato, receptauerit;

et si alique mulieres coniugate, vel alie queuis seculares persone preter seruientes necessarios, et presertim vxor cuiusdam cognominati ffelmersham, vel vxor Ricardi Kyrkeby, infra situm dicti monasterii prebendinaverint seu morate fuerint de die vel nocte; Women (laics), especially dame Felmersham and dame Kirkby, are allowed to reside in the Nunnery.

aut si aliqui scolares vniuersitatis Oxoniensis, graduati vel non-graduati, ad ipsum monasterium accessum habuerint, aut moram in eodem contra formam iniunctionum nostrarum predictarum [traxerint[1], volentibus] plenius informari, disposuimus nos descendere ut videremur si clamor opere compleretur, regis tamen et regnorum suorum[2] negociis, vniuersalisque ecclesie republica procuranda, quominus hiis intendere valeamus notorie impediti. Scholars of Oxford frequent the house. We intended personally to inquire into these charges, but public business forbids.

Ad inquirendum igitur, tam in specie quam in genere, super premissis omnibus et singulis et eorum circumstantiis vniuersis, vocatis ad hoc ipsis Abbatissa et Conuentu in specie, et ceteris omnibus quorum interest; necnon eandem Abbatissam ac singulares personas conuentus dicti monasterii, eorum interposito super hoc (si expediat) iuramento, mature, et diligentius, eciam articulatim,[3] examinandas; ceteraque omnia et singula facienda, exercenda et expedienda, cum omnibus et singulis emergentibus, dependentibus, incidentibus, et connexis in premissis et eorum quolibet, necessaria et opportuna, VOBIS, de cuius fidelitate et circumspectionis industria plene in domino confidentes, vices nostras committimus, tam coniunctim quam diuisim, per presentes, cum cuiuslibet cohercionis et executionis canonice potestate, mandantes quatenus nos de omni eo quod feceritis et inueneritis in premissis, ipsis expeditis, distincte et aperte certificetis litteris vestris (patentibus aut clausis) horum seriem et totum factum vestrum plenius continentibus, et arcte sigillatis. We give you full powers to conduct a rigid inquiry into all these matters, asking you to certify us in writing what you have done in the matter.

Datum sub sigillo nostro ad causas in hospitio nostro apud vetus templum Londoñ. septimo die mensis Junii Anno domini Mcccccxxxiiij^to^ et nostre translacionis Anno quarto. Sealed at London, 7 June, 1434.

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[1] Words to this effect seem omitted.

[2] i. e. France and England.

[3] Examination *articulatim* meant requiring distinct answers to a series of very definite questions, drawn up beforehand. An instance of the procedure is found in Anthony Wood's trial in 1692: Wood's *Life and Times*, iv. 21, 29–34.

Text of the aforesaid Injunctions, issued 1432.

Iniunctiones et ordinaciones facte in monasterio de Godestowe, ordinis sancti Benedicti, Lincolniensis diocesis, per reverendum in Christo patrem et dominum, dominum Willhelmum dei gracia Lincolniensem Episcopum, in visitatione sua per ipsum in dicto monasterio exercita sub Anno domini MCCCC xxxiii^do^ et sue translacionis Anno secundo.

1. Every nun is (*a*) to be present at Matins, and (*b*) to join in the rendering of Vespers, and, at the other canonical hours, to read good books, or meditate, if not on chapel service.

[1] In primis, quod omnes moniales, saltem petentes,[1] omni nocte intersint matutinis in Choro, et quod exerceant chorum in missis vesperis, et aliis horis licet non psallant, tamen vt aliquid boni legant, contemplentur, vel meditentur, secundum antiquam et laudabilem consuetudinem monasterii.

2. Refectory to be repaired, and twelve nuns, at least, to take their meal there daily.

[2] Item, quod ad minus duodecim moniales comedant omni die in refectorio, et quod ipsum refectorium cum omni celeritate debite reparetur.

3. No talking at forbidden times, or in forbidden places.

[3] Item, quod silencium ab omnibus monialibus indistincte seruetur horis et locis debitis, et quod transgredientes in hoc acriter puniantur secundum regulam absque personarum accepcione.

4. Every visitor, requesting conference with a nun, is to be taken to the public-room of the Abbess, who personally (or by deputy) is to be present at the meeting, to listen to the whole discourse, and hurry the visitor away. No one, except a near blood-relative of a nun is to stay over-night.

[4] Item, quod extranei venientes ad monasterium statim ducantur in aulam Abbatisse per ianitorem Monasterii, ubi, cognita per Abbatissam causa aduentus eorum et si ob aliquam monialem accesserint cum ea locuturi, statim pro ea mittat Abbatissa, et audiat ipsa (si sibi vacet) vel alia monialis senior et discreta, de ipsius Abbatisse mandato, quid inter eos communicetur et loquatur vt cito expediatur aduentus eorum, et recedant, sic quod ibi nullatenus pernoctent nisi fuerit pater et mater, frater et soror monialis illius cuius gracia ad monasterium sic venerint.

5. The Abbey porter is to take oath faithfully to observe this course.

[5] Item, quod ianitor prestet iuramentum coram Abbatissa et Consilio suo quod diligenter et fideliter custodiat magnas portas monasterii, nec sinat aliquos extraneos intrare preterquam in forma predicta.

[1] ? *valentes*, or *potentes*.

[6] Item, quod vxor ffelmersham cum tota familia sua, et alie mulieres prouecciores, cum sint monialibus inquiete et res mali exempli occasione apparatus earum et eis aduentantium, sint a monasterio penitus amote infra vnum Annum proxime futurum.

6. Laywomen, who at present rent houses in the Abbey, especially dame Felmersham, are to be sent away, their vain apparel setting the nuns a bad example.

[7] Item, quod balliuus monasterii qui nunc est non habeat aliqua secreta colloquia cum aliquali moniali, cum dicat non fore aliquam bonam mulierem in monasterio.

7. The Bailiff is to be allowed no private interview with any nun, having slandered all.

[8] Item, quod nulle sint vigilie aut potaciones post completorium; sed, ipso finito, omnes moniales vniformiter accedant ad dormitorium et ibidem de nocte iaceant, nisi Abbatissa si infirmata fuerit vel per extraneos impedita ad commodum et honorem monasterii, et exceptis infirmis que tunc iaceant in infirmaria.

8. After compline (10 p.m.) no parties for gossip or wine-sipping are to be allowed, but all nuns must go to the dormitory, except the Abbess, if ill, or entertaining guests, or sick nuns in the Infirmary.

[9] Item, quod ostia claustri et dormitorii omni die claudantur et aperiantur horis debitis secundum regulam.

9. Doors of cloister and dormitory to be open only at appointed hours.

[10] Item, quod lecta in domiciliis monialium omnino de cameris suis amoueantur, preterquam pro paruis, et quod nulla monialis recipiat aliquem secularem[1] ad aliqua solacia in cameris suis, sub pena excommunicationis. Nam scolares Oxonienses dicunt quod possunt habere omnimoda solacia cum monialibus prout desiderare volunt.

10. No nun may have beds in her chamber, except for girl pupils, nor invite any secular to refection in her chamber. Oxford scholars prate of varied entertainment at Godstow.

[11] Item, quod celle honeste et competentes ordinentur in infirmaria pro monialibus infirmantibus.

11. The infirmary is to have suitable cubicles.

[12] Item, quod iuuenes moniales sole non exeant loca claustralia ad curiam exteriorem, nec eciam cum socia nisi de licencia unius presidencium religioni petita et obtenta.

12. No young nun is to go out of the precincts by herself, nor pair of young nuns without leave.

[1] 'Secularis' was a word of doubtful import, meaning sometimes (*a*) a layman or laywoman, as opposed to a cleric or nun; sometimes (*b*) an ordinary parish clergyman, as opposed to a member of a religious order (monk, friar, nun). It is often doubtful which meaning is to be taken.

13. No nun is to go to Oxford, or other town, without due escort and without special leave.

[13] Item, quod nulla monialis egrediatur vel exeat ad villas prope monasterium, nec ad Oxoniam, nec ad alia loca remota vel propinqua, nisi sub testimonio sufficiente, et de speciali licencia Abbatisse petita et obtenta.

14. No nun is to chat with any secular in the nave of the church, or in any chapel there : only as in Inj. 4.

[14] Item, quod moniales non confabulentur cum secularibus in navi ecclesie, nec in capellis separatis, nisi tantum in aula Abbatisse et hoc in audiencia ad minus alterius solide monialis.

15. No nun may, with impunity, defy the Abbess.

[15] Item, quod omnes moniales indifferenter obediant Abbatisse, et transgredientes in hoc puniantur acriter secundum regulam.

16. Lights are to be kept burning every night in dormitory and cloister.

[16] Item, quod lampades in dormitorio et claustro omni nocte accendantur pro consurgentibus ad matutinas.

17. No cleric, secular or regular, may enter the precincts after 10 p.m. or before 7 a.m. ; no outsider to have any jurisdiction in the Abbey ; and the Abbess may not delegate her disciplinary powers except to a duly qualified conventual deputy.

[17] Item, quod nullus secularis, frater, nec alius religiosus, intret loca claustralia vel domos monialium post completorium nec ante pulsacionem prime ; Et quod nullus (presertim secularis) exerceat aliquam iurisdictionem in monasterio aut personis eiusdem, nisi hii quibus congruit de iure vel regulari ordine ; Nec quod Abbatissa committat vices suas ad corrigendum dilinquentes in religione nisi presidentibus religionis.

18. No secular may have a horse tied up, or let loose to graze, within the Abbey grounds, except the Abbey officers.

[18] Item, quod nullus secularis habeat equos stantes aut pascentes infra situm monasterii preterquam Senescallus Balliuus vel Receptor aut alius officiarius ex debito officii sui.

19. The hundred shillings intended for relief of poor nuns must be replaced in the chest.

[19] Item, quod illi centum solidi depositi in quadam cista infra Monasterium pro releuamine egencium monialium cum omni festinacione ad eundum effectum in eandem cistam restituantur et reponantur.

20. All doors leading from

[20] Item, quod omnia ostia domorum monialium versus curiam exteriorem, per que potest ingredi in loca claustralia eciam si

cetera ostia claustri fuerint pro tunc clausa, omnino obstruantur, vel talis firmitas vel clausura apponatur quod per ipsa ostia secularibus non pateat aditus vel ingressus.

the nuns' houses to the outer court must be built up or so sufficiently blocked as to prevent egress or ingress.

[21] Item, quod accessus scolarium Oxoniensium ad monasterium omnino cohibeatur et refrenetur.

21. Oxford scholars must be utterly excluded.

[22] Item, quod in monasterio solum sint tres familie monialium preter familiam Abbatisse, in quarum trium familiarum qualibet sint ad minus sex, septem, vel octo moniales, iuxta numerum monialium in conventu.

22. No more than three households are to be allowed, and the nuns in residence are to be evenly divided between these; but the Abbess shall have her own household.

[23] Item, quod ianitor monasterii nec quevis alia secularis persona, queque dona, munera, litteras, aut signa, quibusuis scolaribus Oxoniensibus aut alii persone cuicumque a monialibus differat, nec a talibus scolaribus vel personis ad easdem moniales reportet; nec eciam vtres cum vino, absque visu et sciencia Abbatisse, et de eius licencia speciali petita et obtenta, sub pena expulsionis ab officio suo in dicto monasterio per perpetuum, et si que monialis contrafecerit subeat incarceracionem pro anno.

23. No presents, letters, or tokens, may pass from nuns to outsiders, or from outsiders to nuns; and no presents of wine may be taken in, unless by consent of the Abbess. If a servant offends, let him be dismissed; if a nun, let her be secluded for a year.

Abbreviated translation of the Commission.

William Grey, Bishop of Lincoln, to the Abbot of Oseney and to Robert Thornton, a graduate in the Laws, greeting.

Recently (in 1432) we held an official visitation of Godstow Abbey, making special inquiry as to the conduct of its inmates.

We then found, beyond all doubt, that, in several respects, conventual rules were openly disobeyed.

We therefore issued stringent Injunctions (a copy of which is appended) to the Abbess and Convent, under our seal, with a letter (which please ask for) in which we stated the penalties we would impose for disobedience.

We grieve to say that, by reports too frequent and clamorous to be set aside, we are certified that the Abbess and her nuns have openly disobeyed our Injunctions, and continue in their former lax practices, despising our authority and flouting our threatened punishments.

In particular, these scandals are reported :—

(*a*) Sister Mary Browne, found at the time of our visitation to have been got with child by some official of the Abbey, has since been smuggled out of the Convent ;

(*b*) the Abbess has admitted a nun, without licence ;

(*c*) laywomen, such as dame Felmersham and dame Richard Kirkby, continue to dwell within the Abbey precinct ;

(*d*) Oxford scholars are still frequent visitors at the Abbey, contrary to our express order.

We wished to inquire personally into these matters, but are prevented by the troubled state of affairs in Henry VI's realms of France and England.

Having full confidence in your fidelity and discretion, we now entrust this whole inquiry to you, giving you full powers to call before you as well the Abbess and nuns, as all other persons concerned ; to put every member of the convent on oath ; and to constrain them all to answer to such special questions as you may ask ; trusting that you will do all that is needful in this matter ; and requiring you to certify us fully, by letter under your seals, as to what you have found out about this matter, and as to what action you have taken in it.

Given, under our smaller seal, in our lodging at Old Temple, London, 7 June 1434, in the fourth year of our translation.

Word for word rendering of the Injunctions.

Injunctions and ordinances, made in the monastery of Godstow, of the order of St. Benedict, of Lincoln diocese, by the reverend father and lord in Christ, the lord William, by God's grace Bishop of Lincoln, in the visitation made by himself in that monastery during the year of our Lord 1432, and the second year of his translation.

Firstly, all nuns, if in good health, shall be present every morning at Matins [shortly after midnight] in the choir ; and take part in the choir service at Vespers [6 p.m.]. At the other canonical hours [Prime, Tierce, Sext, Nones, Compline, i.e. about 7 a.m., 9 a.m., noon, 4 p.m., 10 p.m.], if they are not singing the psalms, they shall read some good book or meditate piously, according to the old and praiseworthy custom of the Abbey.

Secondly, twelve nuns, at the least, shall take their meals

together daily in the refectory; and the refectory must be, with all speed, duly repaired.

Thirdly, silence is to be kept by all nuns, without exception, at due hours and in due places, and offenders in this matter are to be sharply punished according to the Rule, without respect of persons.

Fourthly, visitors, on coming to the Abbey, are to be straightway taken by the Abbey gate-keeper to the public-room of the Abbess, and, after the Abbess has there learned the reason of their coming, if they have come wishing speech with any nun, the Abbess is straightway to send for that nun, and herself (if free to do so), or some elderly and discreet nun (at the special request of the Abbess), is to listen to all that is spoken and answered by the one to the other, so that the visit may be speedily at an end, and nun and visitor may go their several ways, provided always that no person may stay the night there, unless it be father, mother, brother, or sister, of the nun on whose account the visitor has come to the Abbey.

Fifthly, the gate-keeper must take oath before the Abbess and her council that he shall heedfully and faithfully keep watch over the great gate of the Abbey, and allow no outsider to enter, except in the manner above prescribed.

Sixthly, dame Felmersham, with her whole household, and the other elderly lady-tenants, since [by their quarrels with each other] they disturb the nuns' quiet, and give bad example by reason of the extravagant apparel of themselves and their visitors, are to be altogether removed from the Abbey within the space of the year ensuing.

Seventhly, the present bailiff of the Abbey shall have no private meeting with any nun, since he asserts that never a nun in the Abbey will remain pure.

Eighthly, there shall be no little parties[1] for gossip or sipping wine after Compline [10 p.m.], but, Compline over, every nun, without exception, shall go to the dormitory to lie there all night, except the Abbess if she be ill or hindered by entertaining outsiders for the profit and credit of the Abbey, and, also excused, any sick nuns who may be in the Infirmary.

Ninthly, the doors of the cloister and dormitory must remain

[1] 'vigiliæ', French 'la veillée', described by Erckmann-Chatrian as recently common in Alsace (*L'Invasion*, cap. ii).

shut, except only at the appointed hours each day, according to the Rule.

Tenthly, all bedsteads now in the rooms of the nuns' chambers are to be removed, except only those for their girl-pupils; and no nun shall admit any secular to any junketing in her room, on pain of excommunication. Oxford scholars brag that with the nuns they may have junketing of every sort, to their hearts' content.

Eleventhly, decent and comfortable cubicles for sick nuns must be provided in the Infirmary.

Twelfthly, no young nun is to go by herself out of the cloister-precinct into the outer court; nor even when accompanied by another nun, unless the leave of a conventual superior has been asked and obtained.

Thirteenthly, no nun is to go out to the neighbouring villages [e. g. Wytham and Wolvercot], or to Oxford, or to other place far or near, unless under adequate escort, and after asking and getting special leave from the Abbess.

Fourteenthly, no nun shall chat with lay-folk in the nave of the Abbey Church, or in any of the chapels thereof, but only [see Inj. 4] in the public-room of the Abbess, and that in full hearing of at least one other trustworthy nun.

Fifteenthly, every nun, without exception, shall obey the Abbess, and every transgressor shall be sharply punished, according to the Rule.

Sixteenthly, the lamps in the dormitory and the cloister shall be lit every night for the use of the nuns all getting up for Matins [shortly after midnight].

Seventeenthly, no secular chaplain, no friar, nor other man of any order in religion, shall come within the cloister-precinct or into the houses of the nuns after Compline [10 p.m.] or before bell-ringing for Prime [7 a.m.]; no man (especially no secular) shall have any rule in the nunnery or over its inmates, those only excepted to whom such rule belongs by law or recognized order; nor shall the Abbess hand over her duty of punishing any offending nun except to one of the conventual superiors.

Eighteenthly, no secular shall have his horse standing or grazing within the Abbey grounds, except the Abbey steward, bailiff, or rent-collector, or other Abbey servant in discharge of his office.

Nineteenthly, the sum of 100 shillings placed in a chest in the

Abbey for the relief of distressed nuns must, with all haste, be replaced in that chest to serve that purpose.

Twentiethly, every doorway between the nuns' houses and the outer court, by which the cloister-precinct may be entered when the usual cloister-doors are shut, must be wholly built up, or so securely blocked that no outsider can come in or get out by it.

Twenty-firstly, clerks of Oxford are to be utterly excluded from the nunnery.

Twenty-secondly, within the nunnery, over and above the household of the Abbess, there shall be only three households, and the whole number of nuns shall be evenly divided between these three households, viz. 6, 7, or 8 in each, according to the total number of inmates.

Twenty-thirdly (and lastly), neither the gate-keeper nor any other secular shall carry out any gift, present, letter, or token, from a nun to any clerk of Oxford or other person, or bring in to a nun any such thing from any such clerk or person; and, in especial, no flask of wine is to be brought in, unless the Abbess has been told about it and has seen it and has given special leave, on pain of expulsion for ever from his office in the Abbey, if a servant offends, and, if a nun offends, a year's incarceration.

Conventual life at Godstow, 1430–5.

Bishop Grey's Injunctions and Commission concerning Godstow, if carefully studied, supply a strange picture of conventual life there.

The Abbey buildings, it appears, were divided into two great courts; the inner court ('loca claustralia'), to which the younger nuns were required (Inj. 12) rigidly to confine themselves; and the outer court, into which outsiders came and in which, in particular, the Abbey had certain houses which it let to ladies who were in no way connected with the convent but who had many visitors (Inj. 6). Here also were rooms where even male visitors might be put up for the night (Inj. 4). By the conventual 'Rule' so frequently appealed to in the Injunctions, i.e. the code of statutes of the Benedictine order, there ought to have been only one door from the inner court into the outer court, and that door jealously watched,

and opened only at stated hours (Inj. 9 and 20). The great gate of the Abbey by which access was obtained to the outer court from the outside world was in charge of a male gate-keeper, an officer of great importance (Inj. 4, 5, 23).

Of the buildings in the inner court, mention is made of the lodgings assigned to the Abbess. In them was a large public-room or parlour ('aula'), which was the recognized place (Inj. 4, 14) for interviews between nuns and outsiders, in the presence and hearing of the Abbess or her deputy. Here also the Abbess entertained favoured visitors, even giving them late suppers (Inj. 8); and here she interviewed the estate-officers of the Abbey (Inj. 18). There was also a stack of buildings ('domus monialium' or 'domicilia monialium') in which a nun might have a room or rooms of her own, and take in girls as boarder-pupils (Inj. 10). By the Rule of the order, these rooms ought to have been used by the nuns only by day (Inj. 10). The night was to be spent in the Dormitory (Inj. 8), a long common sleeping-room (probably built over the cloister), the door of which ought to be jealously guarded and open only at stated hours (Inj. 9). For sick nuns, there was an Infirmary (Inj. 8, 11). The great church of the Abbey was accessible by the nuns through a private door from the cloister (Inj. 9, 16). The choir in the church was reserved for the nuns (Inj. 1), but outsiders were admitted to the nave (Inj. 14) and to the chapels which opened out from the nave. Lastly, mention is made of the Refectory (Inj. 2), in which, according to conventual rule, meals ought to be taken in common.

As regards the life of the inmates, these other points are alluded to. Conversation was, at certain hours and in certain portions of the building, altogether unlawful (Inj. 3). All the nuns were required (Inj. 1, 16) to be present in the choir at Matins, a service shortly after midnight, and all were required to take part in the service at Vespers, about 6 p.m., the chief service of the day. For the services at the other five canonical hours, only some few of the nuns came, by turns, to the choir to chant the Psalms, but those nuns who were not on this duty were supposed (Inj. 1) to be then reading pious books or engaged in pious meditations, in the Dormitory by night, or in their own rooms by day. All nuns were required (Inj. 15) to yield unquestioning obedience to the Abbess. Certain of the nuns ('praesidentes religionis') had statutable authority over

the rest (Inj. 12, 17). These probably formed the advisory council (Inj. 5) of the Abbess.

The Bishop's Injunctions show such open disregard of most of these rules of the Benedictine order as to render the Abbey more like a laxly-kept ladies' boarding-house than a nunnery. Some of the nuns, clearly, were ladies of influential families, were in receipt of considerable allowances from relatives, and had a wide circle of acquaintances. They submitted to conventual rule and to the orders of the Abbess (Inj. 15) only so far as pleased themselves. Several of them had within the inner court their own separate house or staircase, with their own establishment of maid-servants ('familia'); admitted to spare rooms in their house just as many or few of the other nuns as they chose (Inj. 22); took their meals in their own rooms; and slept there, and not in the Dormitory or the Infirmary. So much so that the Refectory and the Infirmary had, by disuse, fallen into disrepair (Inj. 2, 11). Late at night they had company in their rooms, to gossip and sip wine (Inj. 8). Even male friends came to their rooms for such entertainment (Inj. 10), even at late hours (Inj. 17); and sent in flagons of wine for the banquet (Inj. 23). The nuns insisted on having private doors to their houses, by which they might go out at will into the outer court (Inj. 20), to admire the gay attire of their lady-tenants (Inj. 6), and take sides in the feuds between these, so coming to quarrels among themselves (Inj. 6). They gadded about the country (Inj. 13). They saw a great deal of male company, especially clerks from Oxford (Inj. 10, 21). The number of saddled horses tied up at the Abbey gate, or left to graze in the paddock beside it, while the cavaliers were within, was a popular jest (Inj. 18). The nave of the church, and the chapels, were full of nuns and visitors, holding whispered colloquies (Inj. 14). Billets-doux, tokens, presents, passed freely between the nuns and the outside world (Inj. 23). The service of Matins was neglected. To save oil, the Abbey on certain nights trusted to the moon, and did not keep, as the Rule required, lamps burning every night (Inj. 16) in the Dormitory and cloister. The inference is that, if the night proved cloudy, the nuns found in the darkness of the cloister a convenient excuse for staying away from this nocturnal service.

An interesting notice is that which refers to the Chest for poor nuns. In the University of Oxford a favourite form of benefaction

(Maxwell Lyte's *Hist. Univ. Oxford,* 101) had been the gift to the University or to a particular College of a strong-box, with a sum of money from which, in times of stress, temporary loans might be made, without interest, to poor scholars. It appears that at Godstow there had been a benefaction of 100*s.* for affording temporary relief in this way to nuns in need of it, but, in 1432, it was found that the capital had been withdrawn for other purposes, and the chest was empty (Inj. 19).

Some Grammar Notes.

In the Forewords proper, pp. ix–lxxx, which were written before the Text had passed though the press, the references are to the numbers of the deeds (p. 25, note 1). In the notes and tables which follow, as also in the two concluding Indexes, the references are by the minuter system, namely by page and line of the Text.

Defects and peculiarities of the English Register.

In the Forewords (pp. xv, xvi) a few criticisms of the English rendering have been left exactly as they were at first written, just after comparison of considerable parts of the MS. with the Latin original. Since then other large portions of the English text, in its printed form, have been collated with the Latin of the Exchequer MS. The final conclusion is that nothing short of the issue of the Latin text in its entirety will definitively clear up the frequent mistakes, the numerous obscurities, and the strange inconsistencies of the English rendering.

It is plain, from several circumstances, that more than one person took part in the work of translation. Thus, to take the evidence of single words, in the formulae which enumerate manorial privileges and burdens there is one man who renders *pascua* by 'fedingis' 559/16; *libertates* by 'fredomes' 33/9; *quieteclamavit* by phrases such as 'claymyd to be in pees and rest' 80/14, or 'claymyd to be in rest' 78/6, and the like; *servicia inde debita et iure consueta*, by 'seruycis therof dewe and I-wonyd', 186/24; while another renders the same words and phrases by 'lesues' 604/1; 'libertees' 269/27; 'quyte-claymed' 100/14; 'seruyce therof dew and of right accustomed' 55/26. The same conclusion is borne out by the use of alternative forms

in the pronouns 'hem' and 'them', 'her' and 'their'; and by the use of harder forms 'gife' and 'gate', or of softer forms 'yefe' and 'yate'. It is also plain that in some portions of the MS. there is a far firmer grip of English construction than in others. If ever a competent archivist succeeds in discovering exactly the original order of the sheets of the MS. (p. xvii), we may also attain to the determination of where the first translator, or group of translators, left off, and the other or others began.

Taking what is presumably the work of the earliest of the translators, the 'pore brodur and welwyller', 25/19, we may put down our impressions of it under a number of separate heads. On the whole, he seems to have undertaken the task with no very distinct appreciation of the exactitude attained by Latin inflections, and without any scheme for correctly expressing in uninflected English the intricate relationships of words which occur in complicated Latin sentences.

Latinisms in single words.

Real English equivalents for Latin words were not always forthcoming. In the translation, therefore, we have often the Latin words unchanged, or with a minimum of change. Examples are:—

in gersumma, V. marke of syluer in gersumm 209/16.
gracias, gracias say we 12/232; sey gracias 12/251.
in soca, in soca of the bisshop 658/9.
benefactores, benefetours 605/4.
levare, to make levey 268/25.
decime noualium vestrorum, tythes of youre noualle 680/21.
quiete-clamavit, claymyd-quite 159/12.
renuncians exceptioni, renuncyng to the excepcion 266/7, 8.
in duabus primis sortibus, in two the first sortis 290/26.

Tentative renderings of single words.

In other cases the translator, knowing of no fixed technical equivalent in English, has sought to express the Latin word by giving the English of its component parts. These forms are of especial interest. They show that it was still possible, in 1460, that the vocabulary of the English tongue might have consisted mainly of words built up of native elements and so akin to

modern German, and not of words borrowed from Latin and so akin to modern French. What influences determined the abandonment of again-buyer and the adoption of redeemer?

quae adiacet, that lieth to 301/10.
benefactores, good doers 604/16.
contradicunt, they a-geynst sey 47/16.
sine ulla contradictione, withoute ony a-geynyste seynge 171/31, 198/15.
contraveniant, come agayn [=agaynst] 380/24.
contraveniat, come ayenst 416/15, 16.
omnibus aliis exitibus terre, all other availes that comyn out of the londe 257/15.
cum hominibus libere tenentibus with men freholders 300/33.
predictus prior, the seyd prior before 47/11.
quieteclamavit, claymyd to be quiet 198/30; claymyd to be in rest 81/15; 199/4, 5.
redemptor, oure lord agayne-byere Ihesu 676/26.
regressus, agayn goyng 243/9, 10.
retinere, to hold stille 88/3.
sine ullo retinemento, without ony withholdyng agayne 300/13.
rescriptum, ayeyn-wrytynge 351/28.

Duplicate renderings of single Latin words.

The translator's uncertainty as to how he should express himself is almost painfully shown in the multitude of instances in which he has been afraid to commit himself to one English equivalent for a Latin word, and so introduces two words in his rendering for one in the original, very often a Latinism conjoined with a tentative English alternative. This expedient often darkens the meaning of the whole sentence. Examples are:—

angulus, an angle or a corner 171/29.
attornavit, attorneyd or made attorney 560/2.
secundum careatum, the seconde careatum or cariyng 458/22, 459/24.
cum competente mansione, with a competent or accordyng dwellyng place 259/38.
contradictio, agayn-saing or contradiccion 261/11.
deducta, I-deduced or I-take out 489/31.

sine ulla difficultate, without ony difficulte or tariyng 261/7, 8.

dissensio, a dissencion or mater of question 366/5; a debate and mater of question 366/30.

prout divisa sunt, even as they be departed or devided 302/2.

excommunicatis exclusis, cursed people I-excluded or I-shitte oute 680/34.

impeticio, impeticion or axyng 266/6.

diem iudicii, the day of iuggement or dome 645/6.

per octo leucas, by viij. lekis or myles 260/26.

non levare, did not leuy or aroise 485/28.

cum omnibus aliis libertatibus, with all other liberteis or fredoms 605/13.

non numerate pecunie et non tradite, of not I-numbred not I-paid and of the money not I-take to hym 266/8.

in particulis, in particles or litel partis 255/3.

de perquisitis suis, of his owne getyng or ('of' in Text is wrong) perquysitis 257/8; 559/14.

praetor, pretor or mayere 372/18.

per procuratorem suum, by ther procuratoure or attorney 524/20.

pro . . . querelis, for . . . quareles or playntis 277/29, 628/15.

ratione, by the reson or skille 302/23.

sine reclamatione, without reclaymyng or criyng agayn 466/15, 16.

in recognicionem, in recognycion or agayn knowlechyng 385/24.

recognovit, made a knowlech and recognicion 265/14, 15.

de recto, by the bref 'de recto', that is to sey of right 249/11.

cum . . . redemptionibus progenitorum, with . . . redempcions or ayene-biyngis of progenitours or fadirs-afore 605/11; a-geyne-byynges of her progenitury s, 627/11.

renunciantes, renounsyng and forsakying 261/10; renunsyng or forsakyng 480/2.

requisiti, whenne þey been conueniently requisityd or axid 147/7.

sine ullo retinemento, without any reteynyng or withholdyng 242/10; without ony reteynyng or withholdyng agayn 257/9.

quae . . . Thomas . . . retinuit, which . . . Thomas . . . reteyned or holde 243/7.

ripariae, ryvers or riparies 559/16.

ruinosum, ruynowse or fallyng downe 491/13.
unam salinam, one salyne, that is to sey, a salte pitte 664/12.
scriptor, scriptor oþerwise writer 141/2, 3.
cum iiij. scrophis, with iiij. scrophis or diches 290/27.
separatim, separat and diuided or by them self 249/9.
cum sequelis suis, with her sequelis or hem þat folowe of hem 627/9.
sponsus, husbond or spouse 259/20, 21.
tenentes, tenauntis and holders 507/5.
in territorio, in the territory or ground 290/4.
haec transaccio, thys transaccion, or translacion 230/14.
de vilenagio, of bondholde or vilenage 280/20, 21.
in villenagiis, in villenagis or bondages 257/15 ; 258/26.
visu, by the sight or vewe 357/2.

Examples of duplicate rendering without obvious repetition of the Latin word in either member are :—

accidere, to happe or falle or towche 250/4.
evenire, to falle or chaunce 300/2.
tenebantur, they were I-hold or I-bound 301/35.
versus, towarde or ayenst 507/12.

Wrong renderings of single Latin words.

There are numerous instances of wrong rendering of single Latin words and expressions, with, in some cases, consequent obscurity. The following examples are in addition to those which have been already given in the notes.

proximas illis duabus acris, next to the acre 299/8. The sense of the whole sentence is lost. The passage ought to be :—ij. acres, next toward the south to those two acres which were Symon Balehorn's.

exceptis trigesime acre, excepte thritty acres 90/12. It should be :—except [the tithes] of each thirtieth acre. The mistake puts out of view a noteworthy rule as to tithe (lxxvi).

in assartis, I-hegged in 297/16, concealing the special character of the enclosure (p. lii).

ad easdem [sc. *virgatas*], to hit 294/18. The whole passage is thrown out of gear. It ought to be :—iij. yerdis [virgatas] of londe in the feld of Karsynton, with the mede longyng to them as

lotte yeveth from yere to yere, namely, that yerde londe the which Seuald held sometyme, etc.

tempore donacionis, in the tyme of his lyf 245/20, instead of 'at the time of his gift'.

eius or *suis*, his 33/4, for 'her'.

eius, hir 65/24, for 'his'.

illis et eorum heredibus, to hym and to his heires 246/21.

et, of 265/10, for 'and'. Iordan of Aldewelle was 'lettyng', i. e. defendant in the case.

CC libre, CC mark 266/ title of no. 365. But correct 266/20.

in medietate, immediate 297/17.

quibuscunque et quandocunque, to . . . whosoeuer or whomsoever 286/30.

retinuimus, changed to third person and translated 'they held', 252/21; but it means 'they retained', when they alienated the rest.

coram barone de scaccario, afore a Baron of the courte 244/13.

soror, wyf 259/19.

iuxta terram, next to the ende 297/21.

vel, of 300/17. It should be:—spores or ij.d.

cum dimidia virgata, with half j. acre 261/22.

Wrong renderings of longer passages.

Several passages of more or less length are hopelessly or unintelligibly misrendered. Examples are:—

renuncians excepcioni de 'non numerate pecunie et non tradite', renuncyng excepcion not remembred of none payment to me taken 266/20. The passage is a negative formula of acknowledging payment 266/8. It should be:—promising not to make use of the objection that the money had not been paid and handed over.

The formal marriage-settlement in deed no. 353 is specially unfortunate in regard of misrenderings:—

(A) 'Quam quidem cartam, vna cum carta mea quam dictis Willelmo filio meo et Colette vxori sue de dicta terra cum pertinentiis feci, et alias cartas confectas a dicto Alexandro de dicta terra cum pertinentiis quam dictus Alexander dicto Iohanni filio Radulphi tradidit et liberavit . . . liberavi.'

The passage refers to the complicated title deeds (p. xvii) of the property which is being conveyed. These are (i) 'quam quidem cartam', the formal conveyance by Alisaunder to Iohn fitz Raaf; (ii) 'carta mea'—the settlement by William on his son and daughter-in-law; (iii) other deeds executed by Alisaunder in favour of Iohn fitz Raaf; (iv) etc. All these were transferred, with the land, by William the father to William the son. This is made a hash of in 258/15–19.

(B) 'Quod si dicta Coletta conceperit de dicto Willelmo filio Willelmi sponso suo et prolem in luce perduxerit, ipsa videlicet proles' should have, etc. The passage is a simple deed of entail in favour of issue of the marriage. It is very obscurely given 259/20, 21.

(C) 'Et si dictus Willelmus filius Willelmi ante suscitatam prolem de dicta Coletta uxore sua obierit.' The clause makes provision for life-rent to the widow in case of her husband's decease without child. This also is very obscurely given 259/24.

(D) 'Ad denarios dicto Willelmo de Sancto Audoeno pacatos plene levandos.' Provision is made for a temporary ownership of the land till repayment has been obtained of money advanced on it. The rendering, 259/30, makes it appear as payment of new purchase-money.

Adherence to Latin construction and order.

The English text is greatly darkened in a multitude of places by the Latin constructions being retained where they are foreign to the genius of uninflected English.

Accusative and infinitive. The translator had not found out that this common Latin idiom ought to be otherwise expressed in English, e. g. by 'that' followed by subject and verb in indicative. There is this excuse for him that his version was intended, 26/1, 2, to be read alongside of the Latin.

Examples of simple accusative and infinitive are:—

He willed to be know hym self to have I-graunted 104/6, i. e. that he had granted.

Walter . . . made a knowlechyng hym and his heires to be hold 410/19: 'recognovit se et heredes suos teneri,' viz. acknowledged that he and his heirs were bound.

Yf hit happun hem to be amercid 608/20, i. e. that they are fined.

In these examples preceding the construction is rendered less harsh by the fact that the pronoun possesses an objectival inflection.

In some instances the translator has started on the construction with 'that', but not carried it out, e. g. :—

Ranulph . . . willed to be know that . . . to have graunted 90/7, 8, i. e. that he had granted.

Yf hit happe that the forsaid Alexandre . . . to faile of the payment 126/36.

William . . . made a knowlech . . . that the foreseid mese . . . to be the right of the same Richard 345/32.

Ablative absolute. The translator has not observed that the inflection for the ablative case removes all possibility of confusion in the Latin, whereas there is nothing to show in an English junction of a noun and a participle that the noun is neither subject nor object in the sentence, but stands apart from it. The ablative absolute is a favourite idiom in the formula of papal commissions, and these documents are therefore specially hard reading in the text.

An example is :—

þe abbas of Godestowe and þe couent I-callid afore hem 136/19. If any device like 'having been I-called' had been used to express *vocatis*, the construction would have been clear.

Latin impersonal verb and reflexive verbs.

The translator allows himself to be overly shackled with both these idioms. Examples of impersonals are :—

Dicitur, Seythe 236/30, meaning 'they state that'.

pontem quo itur, the brigge by the which hit is to go 385/13, i. e. by which people go. Cp. 536/6.

There is a misrendering of an impersonal :—as hit shewith and witnessith 484/27, must be 'as it is shewn and witnessed'.

The most common reflexive verb is *se extendere* in expressing the lie and limits of lands. In a great many places we have the renderings 'hit streccith hit-self 267/15', 'thei strecehen themself 301/19 ; but there is a tendency towards using the simple forms, 'it streccith' 299/13, 'they strecchen' 247/9.

Retention of the Latin order.

The translator has overlooked the propriety of conforming to the English order, viz. subject, verb, object. The effect of this neglect is sometimes perplexing at first sight, and requires a moment's reflection to make English of it :—

The tenement that somtyme held Luce Cane 116/8.

The house . . . the which now holdith the abbot of Oseneye 438/1.

That he shold brynge into the possession of the tythes of the said mylles the said mynchons 89/37.

In the same manner, exactly in the Latin way, a participle is often put a long way from the noun it goes with and an adjective after the noun it qualifies, e. g. :—

Anneys . . . in her pur weduhod and lauful power beynge 320/28.

pro servicio regali, for seruyce riall 270/16.

servicium debitum et consuetum, seruice dewe and wonyd 225/14.

There is, however, apparent a tendency to English order, e. g. :—

With all dewe and wonyd seruyce 263/5 ; 278/24.

Neglect of Latin exactness.

One of the most desolating errors of the translator is his replacing of the highly inflected and therefore exceptionally distinct Latin *qui, quae, quod*, by absolutely colourless words *the-which, which, that* equally applicable to all cases, numbers, genders. Cp. *Oseney English Register* (E.E.T.S., 1907), p. 5, note 4. This is the more to be regretted, because he was not ignorant of the possibilities of exactness attainable by means of who, whom, whose, which. This will be noticed later on, pp. cxxx, cxxxi.

Ambiguous use of to take.

Great dubiety is imported into the text in many places by the absolutely contradictory use of the verb to take, as meaning (i) to receive, *capere, recipere*; (ii) to give, *committere, tradere*. Cp. *Oseney English Register* (E.E.T.S., 1907), p. 73, note 6.

(i) *to take=to receive to oneself.*

they toke . . . grete hurt 25/9, they received.

the deene . . . toke the popes maundement 88/24.

Robert . . . toke the popes lettres 93/2.

take 101/20, 25, to receive, to be paid.

Reynolde toke . . . in hys . . . proteccion 182/7, recepit.

to distreyne and to take 226/5.
to take ayene, 506/22, to receive back.

but (ii) *to take=to give away.*

In-to þi handes, lorde! I take my soule 12/225.
toke 43/6, *commisit.*
toke 83/14, 86/14, gave and granted.
toke to a fee-ferme 361/12, gave a lease of.
toke and left 606/10, *tradidit et dimisit.*

Accumulation of negatives.

The duplication and accumulation of negatives is a characteristic feature of the text.

þat þei haue no partę . . . ne no parte 3/28, 29.
that in oure way no wise we erre nought 15/319.
Whom þat I wyl chaunge neuer for no newe 20/485.
he shold not do no sacrament but syngyng of masses 94/8.
þat thys yft shuld not be dowtfull to no man 209/16.
to take awey thys almys 213/8.
we forbede also that no man be bold
noþer hyt sholde not be law full . . . to make a testament 233/12, 13.
so that nother he ne none of his heires shold not afterward chalange nother clayme no right ne clayme in the forsaid mese 268/19–21.
so that he and his heires shold never axe no thynge 309/14.
she shold not make no testament 356/28.
nother his executours shold not have no admynystracion of his goodes 394/12.
so that nother the said Edmond, nother his heires, myght never in no wise . . . clayme ony right 563/3, 4.

Analysis of verbal forms.

The Text is not altogether favourable to a tabulation of verbal forms. As has been pointed out [p. xv (E)], the translator has intentionally rejected the first and second persons for the third. There are thus only a very few forms found for the first and second persons, some in the short prefixed pieces, some in the Text at places where, by forgetfulness, the translator has failed to keep to his self-imposed rule.

The forms which occur fall into four distinct sets :—

(i) A number of comparatively highly inflected forms, of a distinctively 'deutsch' type, for 3rd person singular of the present tense, for all persons plural in the present and past tense, and for the past participle. These present an English verb of obvious cousin-red with the modern German verb.

(ii) A number of other forms for the past participle in which the presence of the initial *i-* is accompanied by dropping the inflectional letter *-n* or *-d* at the end.

(iii) A multitude of past tenses and past participles which conform to the types which have become standard in modern English.

(iv) No slight number of forms in which the dropping of inflectional elements has been carried to an extent which has not succeeded in establishing itself in modern standard use.

The verb 'to be'.

These seem to be the outstanding features :—

(i) *Art, are* do not occur.

(ii) *Is, was* are the only instances in which *-s* occurs as ending for 3rd person singular of any verb.

(iii) The past participle, in this text, never has *i-* prefixed. But *i-be* occurs in *Oseney English Register* (E.E.T.S., 1907).

(iv) More frequently probably than in any other verb, the past participle, in compound tenses, loses every inflectional mark, and is reduced from *ben* to *be*.

Imperative of to-be.

2nd pers. sing.—be, i. e. be thou

O Cross . . . be euer oure spede 4/1.

Euer blessid þou be, good lorde! 12/238.

3rd pers. sing.—be, i. e. let . . . be.

Blessid be þe frute of þi wombe 7/89.

3rd pers. plur.—byn i. e. be + n (of plurality), let them be.

Now byn they to god commendyd 27/9.

Present tense of to-be.

3rd pers. sing. (uniformly) is.

1st pers. plur. ben, i. e. be + n (of plurality).

We ben bought 15/317.

2nd pers. plur.

Ye ben hold to amende 471/4.

Ye bene sette to goddes seruyce 674/17.

3rd pers. plur.—(i) been, ben, bin, byn.

Al þat ben ordened 1/17.

Subiectes þat ben acursed 1/21.

Alle . . . been a-cursed 2/4.

My defautes ben innumerable 9/154.

They byn excusyd 47/38.

Acris . . . þat bin next 64/2.

Nicholas and William . . . byn holde and bounde 175/19.

ther ben iij. fre tenauntis 318/14.

tenementes þat bin holde 333/13.

3rd pers. plur.—(ii) be, dropping the n of plurality.

Al þo þat by name be acursed 2/10, 12.

what-soeuer þei be 3/11.

And so be they besy 27/3.

them that be now and to come 549/4.

3rd pers. plur.—(iii) beth, i. e. be + th, which is properly termination of 3rd pers. sing.

Al [persons] þat beth done out of church 1/22.

Alle þo . . . þat . . . beth assoyled 2/4.

þer beth iij. Iles of mede 319/11.

Past tense of to-be.

3rd pers. sing.—(habitually) was.

The form *wace* occurs once, p. 26, in heading of deed no. 2.

The form *whas* occurs 139/1, 17, 18; 146/4, 29.

2nd pers. plur.—were.

Ye were wonte to pay 123/14.

3rd pers. plur.—(i) weren, weryn.

Where so euyr they weryn 79/11.

Her predecessours . . . weryn seysenyt 237/13; 597/13.

ij. acres . . . the which weren 299/9.

(ii) (most commonly) were.

þe cursyng þat þei were in before 2/7.

they wer wonyde . . . to take 228/29.

Subjunctive present of to-be.

3rd pers. sing.—be.

if þe forsayde rente be not payid 145/22.

1st pers. plur.—ben.

That we ben saued 5/39.

þat we ben cladde 17/388.

3rd pers. plur.—be.

vntil þei be reconciled 1/25.

yf thei be not I-founde 598/8.

Subjunctive past of to-be.

3rd pers. sing.—were.

whan the abbesse of Godestowe were ther personally 35/2.

if þe fore-sayde rente . . . were not payid 146/14.

where so euer he were 233/4.

Past participle of to-be.

(i) usual form.

my handes to synne haue ben ful light 10/173.

(ii) clipped form, in very frequent use.

þe had be in possession 167/5.

evene as . . . hit had be of ther owne almesse 652/22.

as hit hath be said 155/14.

as hit hathe be I-said afore 512/3.

hyt haþe be shewyd þat hyt hathe not be vsyd 231/10.

I haue . . . ofte be vnkynd 9/144.

they haue be wonyd 34/6; 219/7.

Anomalous forms.

We find *ben* used with certain auxiliary verbs which are usually combined with *be*. This may be past participle used wrongly for infinitive; or the auxiliary + the infinitive may be regarded as receiving the -n of plurality at the end of the composite verb.

In þis world here shul not we longe ben 15/316.

That we may ben seruantes 15/322.

Compare in other verbs:—

that [they] sholde in no damage . . . her aftur fallyn 25/24.

all . . . thyngis which gone out or may gone out of the forsaid lond 129/20, 21.

The verb 'to give'.

Because of its two-fold pronunciation, with hard *g* or soft *y*, and because of *y* being often represented by ȝ, the verb to-give is represented by an exceptional variety of forms.

Form I—'to give'.

Infinitive:—

to distribute also and to gefe to þe . . . parysshens 231/13.
he wyllythe to gyfe . . . hyt 224/6.
they grauntyd to gyfe to hem 339/20.
þei sholde not gife but j. besaunde 334/11.
þei wille gif hit 615/17.

Present tense:—

as the lot gyvyth 220/38.

Past tense:—

Turstyne . . . gaf and grauntyd 43/11.
Walter Clifford grauntid and gafe 135/5.
Thys medewe he gafe 570/11.
the fore-seyd mynchons gafyn to hym 219/24.

Past Participle:—

(i) full form—*i-gefen*—does not occur.
(ii) shortened form—*i-gefe*, &c.
These þinges were I-gife and actid 70/32.
I-gyfe at Godstowe 80/10.
I-geyf at Godstowe 82/7.
I-gefe at Bloxham 236/14.
(iii) standard form—*given*—not found.
(iv) clipped form:—gefe, &c.
We haue gyf 48/11.
as ony almys may be gyf 230/32.
relef sholde be gife þerof 334/11.
hit was gef to hem 633/20.
hit was gyfe to hem 634/14.

Connected Substantives:—

they shuld be cler fro gyfynge of such maner tethys 48/12.
for thys gefynge and grauntynge 195/15.
þat þis gifte myht bide firme 132/17.
thys gyft graunt and confirmacion 171/33.
his gift, graunt, confirmacion 618/10.

Form II—to yeve.

Infinitive:—

to . . . whom-so-euer he willed to yeve . . . hit 150/21.
they myht . . . more clerely yeue informacion 25/17.
as the lotte wille yeve 277/22.

Present tense:—

I yeve and graunte 239/3.
as the lot yeuyth 220/37.
as certen markes þere yeuin and shewin 68/19.

Past tense:—

Iohane . . . yaf and graunted 33/3.
The foreseyd abbot and couent . . . grauntyd and yafen 229/21.

Present participle:—

yevyng to theym . . . power 37/18.
yevyng knowlech that they 347/23.

Past participle:—

(i) full form—*i-yefen*—does not occur.
(ii) shortened form—*i-yefe*, &c.
I-yef at Godstowe 212/22.
I-yeve at Godestowe 304/10.
more diligently to be I-yeve 490/3.
the tythes were never I-yeve 579/15.
(iii) standard form—*yeven*—does not occur.
(iv) clipped form.
Bernard . . . hathe yeue and grauntyd 30/18.
as ony almus may be yef 215/30.
to who-so-euer they were yeve 269/28.
I have yeve full power 471/10.

(i) full form—*i-yoven*—does not occur.
(ii) shortened form—*i-yove.*
every day that the pytaunce was I-yove 99/21.
by the auctorite I-yove to them 365/23.
(iii) standard form—*yoven.*
Richard . . . and Alice . . . hath yovene and graunted 49/21.
we have yoven licence 603/4.
(iv) clipped form.
shold be yove 99/21.

Connected substantives :—

all the yevynge of his aunceturs 215/15.
exempte fro yevyng of the said tythes 576/4.
the charters of the yevers 244/31; 665/11.
this graunt, yeft and confirmacion 210/11.
his yift 497/3.
the yifte that his fadir yaf 204/5.
yiftes and helpes 342/11; 343/8.
yiftis, scottis 665/5; 670/14.
the yft of Guido 39/14.
þe yfte þat Raf . . . made 177/19.
it makyth mension of the grete yftys 28/11.
all the yftys, landis and possessions 650/5.

Form III—to ȝeve.

Infinitive :—

þere successouris sholde ȝef 144/24.

Imperative :—

2nd pers. sing.—ȝif me 13/271; ȝiffe me 13/264.
—ȝeueth me, Seynt Marke! 16/367.
—good lady! ȝeue us 16/355.

Present tense :—

Lorde, þat ȝeuest us many þinges 12/239.

Past tense :—

Christe ȝaue 3/23.
Robert . . . ȝaf and grauntid 138/18; 202/22.
þe . . mynchons ȝaf to hym 147/18.

Present participle :—

ȝeuyng 10/180.

Past participle :—

whas a sentence diffinityf I-ȝef 139/2.
fowre and twenty marke of syluer I-ȝefe and assynyd 147/19.
Bernard . . . hath ȝyf and I-grauntid 573/2.

Connected substantives :—

þys ȝyfte and graunte 143/11.
he grauntyd with the ȝyft of the rent 340/15.
of his gifte and of þe ȝyfte of William 623/6.
the foresayde ȝyftes 203/22.

Present tense: 3rd person singular.

The regular termination is -th:—

he axeth 281/3.
the chartur . . . beryth wyttenes 574/9.
a croft . . . buttythe 174/29.
he desyrythe 47/24.
for euyry distreynynge þat he dothe 176/3.
none [=no one] that gothe away 680/30.
scuage whenne hyt happynyth 225/18.
blis þat hath none ende 12/231.
þe . . . place . . . lyþe by-twene 177/5.
the which mese lieth bitwene 96/20.
whan scuage rynnyth 306/19.
as lawe of holichurch seyth 3/3.
Isabelle of Clare . . . seith in this wise 549/2.
þe hy wei þe which streccith 64/1.
whan the kyng tallagith his demaynes 102/18.
he þat vseth hem 2/27.

Forms without inflexional ending occur very rarely:—

þe life þat neuer ende 8/133. This is possibly for the sake of rime.
Richard . . . kyng of Romayns . . . sende greting, 264/26. This is possibly due to the plural of majesty, 'We' 264/29.
as the charter . . . bare out and witnessith 245/24. Here *bare* is *bearith*. It will be noticed later (p. cxxii) that when two forms come together one or other is apt to lose its inflexion.

Present tense: all persons plural.

It is plain that, for all persons of the present tense, the plurality suffix was usually -n, or -en.

Of the 1st person plural we have examples:—

We ben, *supra* p. civ.
Þyne vtas we done holde 21/505.
We interdiȝten 3/9.

Of the 2nd person plural we have:—

Ye ben, *supra* p. cv.

Of the 3rd person plural, the following abbreviated list will give an idea of the constant use of the form:—

they abydyn there 649/32.
they ben, *supra* p. cv.
acris . . . the which butten them self 443/26.
þedir comen no foles 19/462.
hys chyldryn that comyn of hym 210/24.
heresyes þat doon spryng 24/597.
the oxen . . . feden 208/11.
ȝif þei gone out anon 1/23.
þey hauen 203/20.
the mynchons havyn 216/8.
londes and tenawntries the which they holden 205/27.
tho two acris lien at Anfric 81/29.
the wyche londes and tenementes lyen and been 146/29.
al so long as they liven 272/31.
as longe as þey lyvyn 198/3.
all other seruyces that longen to the same lond 265/25.
demaundis that longȳn to hym 209/11.
the forsaid Abbesse and Couent . . . maken 594/16.
they . . . oftyn to take 316/6, debent.
his heires oughten to warantiȝe 527/5, debent.
the service . . . the which the same meses oughten 527/1.
the foreseyde mynchons owyn to pay yerly 228/31.
þe sein 69/9, say-en.
þey seyen þat 237/19.
þey seyne þat 237/12.
The abbas and couent of Godstow seyn 47/31.
his heires shold never . . . sesyn 155/22, seize-n.
as þe markis shewin 67/6.
two acris . . . the which strecchen 247/9.
the markes and departyngys vppon euery syde techen and shewyn 81/33.
tho thynges that towchyn . . . the mynchons 649/34.
iiij. acris . . . þe whiche turnin 141/6.
al men . . . þat vsen haserdyng . . . or ellis maken hem parteneres 3/11.
as the charters of them witnessen 309/3.
as her charturs witnessin 131/5.
þe seide abbas and oþer wrongin him 136/10.
the whyche the seyd mynchons wyllen to sende 649/30.

Present tense: third person plural.

Besides the -n form just noticed, two other forms occur frequently in the third person plural.

i. *Forms without plurality mark.*

In many cases the plurality mark is dropped.

3if þei do it hit not 2/6.
ij. houses . . . the which lye 410/5.
iij. seldes . . . the which lye 499/1.
the markes and departyngis teche and shew 107/19, 20.

ii. *Forms with -th as plurality mark.*

beth, *supra* p. cv.
al oure floures begynneth to fade 19/436.
they . . . graunte and . . . byndith hem 194/11.
they conteyneth 319/12, 13.
William . . . and Iohn . . . hath yoven and graunted 53/27.
Alle þat helpeth 1/1.
Alle men of religion þat howselilth, or weddith, or anelith 1/4, 5.
iiij. acris . . . of the which ij. lieth 359/13.
Edward Langford, John Nowers, Squyers, and Thomas Lewys sendith gretyng 348/13.
ij. acres . . . the which strecchith 299/12, *quae se extendunt.*
as the markes and departyngis vpon everich side techith and shewith 116/11.

Past tense: forms in use.

The forms used in the past tense do not, as a rule, differ from those now in use except in regard of archaic spelling. Only a few examples are therefore given.

hit befalled 368/12.
he confermyd hyt with hys seele 235/14.
but he left and dud dew satisfaccion 646/17.
þey dyd no wronge 237/4.
the antecessours that the seyd lande fyrst gate and purchasyd 27/19.
he . . . impletid hym in the kyngis courte 260/23.
Moolde . . . pleted in the kyngis courte 121/1.
as he sawe and rad 166/17, read.

dede he was and rose vp agayne 4/5.

yf he say hit to be goode 93/14; she saw the charter 549/2, past tense of to sey=see.

Into wytnes of þe same he sette hys seele 235/28.

his winde mille þat stondit 63/15, standed=stood.

he willid and commaundid 227/18.

he wolde and commaundyd 203/21: past tense of woll, variant of will.

In a number of cases, however, the -d or other mark of past time is dropped. Some of these cases may he due to clerical error.

ofte to her come by a vysyon 26/15, it came.

þe oþers come not to answer but on Iohn at dale answeryd for hem 236/28.

Godstowe admyttyd . . . and institute hym 587/5.

þe seide Thomas knowliche þat 71/20, acknowledged.

Herebert knowliche to the fore-seide Osbert 328/25, acknowledged.

Alisaundir . . . quytte hym 256/1, acquitted.

the patente that the kyng sende yow 92/24, sent.

Some few anomalies require separate explanation:—

He institued 228/7: instituted was felt to be harsh.

as þe charter of his fadur wytnyssenyd 203/25. Probably begun as if it had been 'charters', and left uncorrected.

In the following cases the -en plurality mark seems to have been attached in error to the 3rd person singular:—

he bounden hym and his executours 594/13.

he bounden hym, his heires, and assignes 597/6.

so þat . . . Raph . . . by none in hys name sholden mowe to aske 233/22.

Past tense: third person plural.

In many cases the third person plural is found still retaining the -n plurality mark.

they promysed and bounden hem-self 126/8.

they bounden them-selue to pay x. mark 483/3.

yf the forsaid Thomas and Cecilie, or the other of them, faileden or failed in the paiyng 466/4, 5: 'failed' is singular and goes with 'other'.

gafyn: *supra* p. cvii.

they hadden 349/1; they haddyn 78/8; þe persons . . . þe which haddin 69/6.

they helden 249/34; þey heldyn 197/18; they hyldyn 222/26, 226/19.

the brethyrne . . . leten 319/20.

al so long as they liveden 527/17.

his fadur and his moodur maden 631/14.

the gyft that his aunceturs madyn 571/15.

yfe all thynges . . . myhtyn haue a goode effecte 79/29.

þe partyes puttyn to þer seeles 233/25.

þey seydyn 169/28.

that these foreseyd thyngys shulden byde sure 222/14.

the sayde mynchons token 144/29, took=gave.

the distreynyngis that they token 315/4.

weren, *supra* p. cv.

to whom so euyr þey wolden 606/29.

Raph Chendut and Agnes hys wyfe . . . wyllydden to be knowe 80/2.

Verb: imperative forms: -th and -en.

Only a few occur, and these in the prefixed verses. For those belonging to *be*, see *supra* p. civ.

2nd person sing.—lady! . . . praieth ȝoure sone me for to spare 11/212: pray thou.

all holichurch . . . graunt me . . . and praieth oure lorde for my saluacyon 11/217.

seynt Iohn of Beuerlay . . . gadre us floures . . . and cureth þerwith oure grete soules ache 17/383.

3rd person sing.—The communion of seyntis now for vs preith 8/117=let . . . pray. [More probably imperative, or intercessional, than indicative and stating a fact.]

2nd person plural.—Prayeth for us, Marcellyan and Marke 18/421, pray ye.

Nerei, Achille, and Pancrace, seyth forȝeuenesse 17/385, =say ye.

Philip and Iacob! maken mencyon 17/373,=make ye mention.

Verb: present participle.

In a few cases the 'g' of the present participle inflexion is dropped. This is, by the rarity of it, probably a mere clerical error, and not an intrusion of the alternative dialectical form, 'and,' 'an,' 'in.'

v. acres (lien to-gedir) 301/12, acre (*iacentes simul*); but liyng 301/15.

iiij. buttes of londe liinge togedur and strecchyn hem-selfe 615/11; but liinge togedur and strecchinge 615/9.

Verb: past participle

Of all parts of the verb, the past participle is presented to us in the greatest variety of forms. I have arranged these forms in such groups as seemed most natural, and have brought under each group an alphabetical list of verbs which come under it. The past participle is, beyond all doubt, the outstanding feature of the Godstow text.

Past participle: Form I.

i- + verb stem (possibly modified) + n of past time.

This form is singularly scant. Notice has already been taken (pp. cvii, cviii) of its absence in the verb to-give. I seem to have come across only one instance:—

thyngis resonably I-goten 658/12.

Past participle: Form II.

i- + verb stem + -d of past time.

This is probably the prevailing form. I give no more than one example in the case of any one verb, except for some special reason.

The thyngis were I-acted 107/8.

Iustices I-assinid to here . . . transgressions 637/22.

licence I-axed 93/14.

houses I-bilded 416/1.

ten pounde . . . I-borowed 596/18.

the witnesses that were I-called 89/5.

strife I-cesid 79/28.
a writyng I-chartered 525/5.
þe . . . couent . . . I-citid 636/9.
two toftis I-closed in 315/24.
I-commaundid 622/30.
the cure . . . was I-commytted to hym 674/4.
they had I-communed with the counseil 576/14; 27/2.
the terme . . . I-completid 317/28.
to be I-confermed 515/1, 2.
he had first I-considred tho thynges 368/5.
In the which mese is I-conteyned 318/9.
hit was I-corded 508/20,=accorded, agreed upon.
that parte the which is I-couered with stone 531/5.
the . . . tenementis were I-delyuered 418/26.
crofte and mede I-dichid in euiri side and I-closid 68/1.
the terme of x. yere I-ended 88/19.
the parishens of Wycombe I-excluded 94/4.
the which ben I-fedde and ben I-logged 578/18.
she had I-founded hit 652/22.
these thyngis shold be I-fulfilled 380/21.
that that is I-graunted for the nede of sike men 94/26.
expensis I-had 88/10.
ther conuentuell seale that is I-hanged to this writyng 184/13.
ther commune seale was I-honged to thise present lettres 367/28.
he had I-herd by inquysicion 312/29.
to them I-ioinid togedur 69/23.
the forsaid þynges not I-keped by hym 94/22.
to the partie I-letted 370/10.
the premysses fully I-loked and I-sey and I-undirstonded 581/16.
the wele I-loved to vs in Crist 525/5.
sholde be I-mercyd 237/26.
strife I-meuid ageiniste him 70/14.
Robert . . . and Robert . . . by-fore I-myndyd 571/23.
in the fourme aboue I-noted 493/11.
with all ther pertynentis I-named 605/16.
shold be surely I-obserued 575/9.

to be I-ordeyned or I-iuged 416/21.
þe custome of time I-passid afore 70/23.
tylle þe foresayde rente be fully I-payid 145/28.
we haue I-perdonyd 148/22.
hyt was I-pleid 159/3; hit was I-pleyd 133/7.
hit was I-pleted 100/10; hit was I-pletid 249/10.
I-praiide 71/6.
þei were I-priuilegid 136/25.
as hit is I-prouided 95/8.
þere content I-purposed 89/16.
I-ratified and sure 91/28.
I-restored to the said Iames 357/1.
I-retourned in the Chauncerye 566/25.
I-rolled in the kyngis rolle 244/14.
hys two dowhters there I-sacryd to God 49/7.
tille they were fully I-satisfyed 88/9.
as hit is I-said afore 186/19; as hit is I-seid afore 240/11; these yftys aboue I-sayd 29/24.
she was I-segid at Oxenford 652/10.
I-selyd with þere sele 144/32.
I-seysonde of þe fore-seyde tenantries 236/30; I-seysynyt of þe fore-seyde tenementes 237/9.
as they ben I-shewed 300/24; in þe which is I-schewyd 203/25.
that ben I-somoned 598/10.
the parcels ben I-specified 558/21.
lond . . . I-streight in al so good a place 155/12, stretched, lying.
this present charter I have I-strengthed 124/23.
þe paiment I-taried abacke 336/31.
I-telyd and not I-telyd 33/11, *culta et inculta.*
with lampes I-tended 677/6.
with . . . fredoms afore I-towched 272/1, *pretactis.*
they were I-troubled 659/7.
customes . . . afore dew and I-vsed 563/27.
they were I-wonyd to take 92/1; was I-woned to paye 378/36; were not I-wonid to pai 330/23.

To these must be added a few which have slightly modified this form: e. g.

were I-brente 416/4, brenn, burn.
all the articles I-content in the same charter 358/13, contained.
the stryf of this lawfully I-contestate 575/32.
ther was a freyndely composicion I-made 228/18; this present charter I-maade sure 140/3.
at the termes I-sette 35/21.

Past participle: Form III.

i- + verbal stem with vowel modified: without -n or -d.

the composicion I-begonne 91/25.
his heires lawfully I-begote 491/4.
the seyd mynchons were I-bounde to pay 80/5.
whan they were resonably I-chose 101/30, from to-chese.
ben I-fed yerely 208/14; the which ben I-fedde 575/26.
the goodes ther I-founde 88/8.
that were I-gote to the same house 400/29.
he had I-helde 239/11.
they had I-ley 101/14, from to-lie.
We have I-sey a writying 525/4.
the yates I-shitte 680/33.
masse shold be solempnely I-songe 93/23.
þe balif . . . I-swore to þe kynge 608/23.
þe dai and place within I-wrete 70/14; the charters . . . ben not I-writte here 380/32.
I-vndre-writte 381/1.

Past participle: Form IV.

i- + plain verbal stem only.

a solar ouer the same selde I-bilde 508/24; after þat hit is so I-bylde 149/21.
I-cast vppon hys londe 171/26.
x. yere fully I-complete 212/6.
all offeryngis there I-do 93/27.
were I-draw out 354/29.
they were I-exempte 578/35.

londis . . . they late had I-gete 563/17.
now syth is thys lady . . . I-goo 26/27.
he is I-holde to pai yerli 335/8.
and was I-know to hym 578/36.
wyth her feyþe I-pleyht 607/22; by her trouthe I-plight 356/25.
appele I-put aside 89/2.
the whyche wer I-quitte 237/27.
þer was a delegacie I-sende 631/28.
ij. acris I-sowe of hard corne 356/1.
of the money not I-take to hym 266/9.
the corn that is wonyd to be gyf I-thresshe 649/8.
afore I-write 449/23; before I-wryte 142/3.

There are variant forms of this i- of the past participle, viz. y- and a-, but both occur very sparsely in this text.

vntil þei be reconciled and y-come to amendemente 1/25.
haue y-hote 2/5, i. e. y-behote, promised.
in englyssh bokys well y-lernyd 25/21.
he was y-wonyd to yeld 408/27.

---

oure ynward syght ys almost a-gone 18/424.
bi viij. yere apaste 70/6; in ony tyme a-passed 303/12, *tempore elapso*; þe yer þat was a-passid 637/16.
ther was a-spronge a dissencion 366/4.

This a- is, in one instance, found prefixed not to the past participle, but to the past tense:—

the bothe partyes a-seelyd euerych to oþer 146/21, i. e. attached their seals.

It is possible also that certain be- forms are variants of the i- forms.

her baylifs were be-holde to pay to hym 610/10.

Past participle: Form V.

Forms coincident with, except for archaic spelling, the modern standard forms, obtained (*a*) by adding -n (*b*) by adding -d (*c*) by modifying the vowel of the verb-stem.

heires of his body begoten 460/24.
we have beholden the charter 123/27.

in no wise stonde bounden 126/23; hys heyrys byn bounden 340/6.

thys transaccion . . . was don 230/15; al that beth done out of church 1/22.

Be hit knowen 193/31.

a yerely rent of viij. shillings to be taken 364/2; an assise was takyn by-twene hem 237/7.

all maner of instrumentis . . . which hath ben withdrawen 594/29.

thys chartur afore wretyn 222/15; all thise afore-written thynges 523/2; in the maner vndir written 379/22; with all libertees to-fore wrytyn 216/17.

---

her subiects þat ben acursed 1/21.

hathe . . . annexit 29/26.

þei mowe not be assoyled 2/1.

to be bilded 463/24.

witnes þat bin callid and named 136/13.

yf hit were commytted 184/19.

as hit is conteyned in the charters 517/7.

as they ben departed by markes 204/28.

mede dichid rownde aboute and closid 67/5.

in churchis enterdited 1/20.

aftur he hadde halowyd the churche 212/25.

the kynge had herd all 27/1.

to hem that be hurtyd 45/29.

therof was he impleyde 163/26, implea-ed.

to be keped truly 88/12; surely to be kepid 89/4; to be kepyd 47/5; sureli to be kept 136/13.

after they have ben layed there 102/9.

whos dore is opened toward the strete 101/22.

howsis to be made 506/8.

to be payd and hadde 213/3.

hit was pleid bitwene hem 635/10; hyt was pleyd 172/11.

hit was pletid bitwene hem 330/17.

tille þey haue restorid 2/17.

as hit is aforsaid 483/20.

her predecessours . . . weryn seysenyt in the same tenantries 237/13.

whan they ben resonably somoned 206/5.
acris . . . yerly to be sowyd 217/1.
in telid londis and vntelid 243/32, *in cultis et incultis.*
they were wonyd to resceive 500/10.

---

ther was a strif . . . began 192/27 ; ther was begon a debate 366/30.
ben bound to pay hit 126/26 ; were bownde to pay 222/25.
þei haue chose 1/10 : from to-chese.
all other that have ben gote 656/5.
shold make to [be] lefte-vp 463/23 : lifted-up, erected.
hit shall be ronge 93/29.
þer be sette in þe lawe 2/26.
vnbroke 178/22 ; 221/9.
in the termes vndir-writte 87/12.

Past participle : Form VI.

Forms in which the dropping of the inflexions has been carried beyond the point recognized by the present standard forms.

be : see p. cvi.
when þei ben bede 1/23.
In Wynchester was a lady bore 26/5 ; that was of þe modyr bor 27/10.
aftir tho x. yere fully complete 466/1.
when he were convicte 95/4, convicted.
bi oure delegat and ordinari power 167/25, delegated.
the paiyng . . . to be do 38/25 : especially common.
William . . . had drawe . . . Roger into plee 637/5.
to be exclude . . . fro all right 505/26.
into many synnes ofte haue I falle 8/137 : shortening possibly a concession to rime.
hit shold not . . . be forgete 520/11.
ȝif hit wold be gete 21/521.
to be hold to the mynchons 36/24, form in constant use, especially in the habendum et tenendum formula, to be had and to be hold 313/12.
he had laufulli institute and sette in 65/13.
hit is to be knowe that 163/14.
I haue ofte myspend 10/169 : shortening probably a concession to rime.

what that hit were nede to be amended 87/9.
as he had sei bi her charturs 132/14; he had sey and behold the ordeynyng 577/12.
what god in a vysyon her had sende 26/28.
of the said maner to be sowe 87/31.
be take with ony sikenesse 356/27.
þe same þat is wrete next afore 616/2.
fredoms byfore wrete 173/15; the afore-write couenaunte 382/18; ij. shillings ij.d before-wryte 340/16.
at þe termis vndur write 336/15.

Past participle: conjoined forms.

It is noticeable that when two past participles come together, it often occurs that one is of a more archaic form, but the other is shortened in some way. The more archaic form sometimes has first place, sometimes second. The same thing happens with the conjunction of three past participles.

I-acted and I-do 579/34; I-actid and do 167/29.
Thomas Tarlari was welle I-content and plesid 621/19.
that mark of siluer first I-deduced or I-take out 489/31.
v. acris wele I-eryd and not I-sowe 356/2.
vndurwodys I-fellyd and to be fellyd 232/4.
tenementis . . . I-gete or purchased 418/22.
these þinges were I-gife and actid 70/32.
benefettys . . . I-grauntyd and yefe 647/5.
they were so I-labored and I-draw, herd, and wrote, and turned 588/29.
to have I-loked and behold 585/31.
I-prayed and requyred 588/31.
I-saued and reserued or kepid 463/33.
pease I-supposed and had 86/28.
I-take and leueyd of hys londe 171/26.
I-wrete and confermyd 644/7.

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thise afore I-write and afore I-diuided thyngis 449/23, 24.
to be amended and I-covered 87/9.
were hold and I-bound 418/18.
to be hold and I-had 163/7.

that they be not . . . greved or I-weried 674/12.
to be observed or I-kepid 578/5.
Bernard . . . hath ȝyf and I-grauntid 573/2.

I-rede, I-rehersed and I-vndirstonde 578/37.
I-redde, rehersed and I-vndirstonde 576/7.

Plural of nouns.

There is nothing striking in the inflexion of nouns. Such facts as seemed capable of tabulation, in respect of number and case, have, however, been brought together.

Plurals ending in -n.

The ending *-en* for the plural is found attached to much the same list of words as still retain it in literature or in general dialect. It is perhaps singular that we have never housen in this text, but only houses.

Al halowen 23/557; the fest of all haloun 82/8; the fest of Alhalowen 194/34. But we have also the fest of all seyntis 87/25; 228/34.
brethern 93/7; 628/25; brethyrn 174/4; 319/17; breþyrn 134/20; brethyrne 195/2.
caluene 331/14, calves.
chyldre 26/11; chyldyr 26/7; chyldyrn 43/5; 573/5 chyldryn 210/24; children 50/30; 82/13.
fowre horsshone 171/25.
j. paire hosen 257/30, *unum calciamentum.*
kyne 215/4; 318/11; kene 543/26.
oxen 208/8; 318/11.
susteren 628/25; sustern 681/26; susterne 674/2; systyrn 174/4; systryn 174/17; sustirs 681/25; sustres 676/11.

Plural instead of collective use.

The plural inflexion is found attached to a number of words which are now generally treated as collective and singular nouns. Examples are:—

with all cornys, heyes, wolles 86/19, i. e. corn, hay, wool.
all cornis 136/2; þe cornys I-sowe in þe same assarte 182/26;

in cornys and medis 240/21, in bladis et pratis; the vesture of cornys growying in the same lond 466/27. But we have also in corne 241/34, *in bladis.*

after the decesses of the forsaid William, Margerye, and Henry 465/4.

the dunges 102/2; the donges 101/13.

v. acres of firses 343/5, furze.

heyis 579/8, hay.

honestees 229/19.

ageynyste all pepuls 199/14.

havyng God and equyte byfore ther sightis 576/15.

to-gedirs 391/10; togedris 541/32.

bothe parties plight ther trowthes 517/17.

in all wises 674/7.

Collective use instead of plural.

Some words, which would now be plural in form, are found regularly used without the plural suffix. Mark (the coin) is one; and ploughland is a second. There are some places in the Text in which mark*es* has been given, but this is now proved to be an erroneous expansion of the contraction.

iiij. score mark of siluer 265/31; x. marke of siluer 317/3.

twey ploughlond 265/12; iij. ploughlond 316/23.

Plural of nouns ending in sibilants.

Nouns which end in sibilants show a tendency to drop the *-s* of plurality. Examples are:—

Amphelice and all the abbesse succedyng her, 99/18; to the same abbesse and to other abbesse that shold succede her 265/27. But we have also—other abbesses 101/18; oþer abbasys 171/3; other abbessys 265/19; oþer abbassis 330/24.

The citteseyns and burges of Oxenford 29/4; to the burgeys of Wycumbe 87/18.

distresse 198/19; distres 332/26, goods taken in distraint. But also—distresses 193/20; distressis 137/25.

Afore the kyngis Iustice at Westmynster 157/17; afore many Iustys in the same place 574/15. But also—Iustices 100/4; Iusticis 100/27; Iusticis Iurneyng 159/28.

These beyng wytnys 138/21, *hiis testibus*; the wytnes that be callyd, yf they wythdrawe 47/6. But also—the witnesses that were I-called 89/4.

Plural of nouns ending in -el.

Nouns ending in *-el* show distinctly a tendency to drop the *-s* of plurality and rank as singular nouns used collectively.

alle offryng of candel thorowe the yere 648/31.

catall [i. e. chattells] 159/19; 466/9; 559/14; catell 474/12; 559/8. But also—catalles 127/1; 589/4; catallis 416/10; 559/29; 605/9; catals 464/2.

coterell 603/31; 627/10; coterellis 605/9.

novalle 680/21, *novalia.*

fro all quarell and playntys 571/10. Plural much more common—quarels 242/5; 425/20; querels 557/2; querelis 600/2.

sequele 603/31. But the plural is much more common in the manorial formula—sequelis 559/9; 605/9; 627/9; sequelys 559/29; 580/7; sequels 329/8.

Tendency to drop plural suffix.

Several other words incline to drop the plural suffix.

The costis 191/31, but—the . . . cost to be do in the same houses 521/9; vndur þe forseide waryn and his heiris coste 615/31.

to drye there heryng 642/6.

for all other holdyng afterward his londes 38/19; and many other 51/14, et multis aliis.

of both partie 304/22, i. e. on both sides.

Godstow and all thynge perteynyng therto 27/16.

the forsaid x. yere 212/6.

Plural attached to adjectives.

In some few instances, copying the Latin, the *-s* of the plural has been attached to the adjective as well as to the noun. Examples are:—

accions reals and personels 304/4.

exceptions dilatorys 350/14.

lettres obligatories 266/3.

lettres patentis 446/17, 18, and so frequently.

The possessive case.

There are plenty of examples of the ordinary form of the possessive case—e. g. goddys-curs 43/16; for goddis sake 246/2; for goddes sake 514/19.

There appears, however, a tendency to separate the suffix from the noun. Examples are:—

Ihesus, oure lorde god is sone 7/90.
Thorgh crist is mercy 8/123.
one of Benet ys heyre 19/444.
in kynge Henry is tyme 217/27.

In several cases the suffix is dropped altogether. Thus:—

for hys fadyr and modyr soule 27/17, 18.
for the helth of his fadir soule and modir soule 384/13.
for the helth of his soule and of his fadir and modir sowles 538/9.
the auctorite I-yove to them of the pope self 365/23.
Iohn . . . put to hys notarye syne 231/22.

In all the above instances the provocation to the omission may have been the sibilance before words beginning with *s*.

Possessives replaced by compound nouns.

There is apparent a tendency to dispense with the possessive case by placing nouns in mere juxtaposition. The result is a set of compound-nouns, somewhat as in modern German.

Two types are distinguishable, according as the noun in the possessive case is placed first or second.

(i) *Possessive-case noun placed first.*

angels degre 7/94.
with bellis ryngyng 1/20: may be with ringing of bells, *pulsatione campanarum.*
Seynt Petir chirche hay 528/4, the fence of St. Peter's church.
herte contricyon 8/122.
heuen blys 19/464.
one knyght fee, 314/15; by a knyght service 126/19.
our lady knyght 16/365, the knight of Our Lady.
at Martyn masse 499/26.
þi passyon pyne 5/35, the anguish of thy passion.
rent gedurarys 25/17, gatherers of rents.

for hys soule hele 573/5.
for hys sowle helthe 195/25.
þat virgyn flour 20/495, possibly flos virginum.
novall tithis 633/19.

In a number of cases the provocation to treat the words in this way might appear to be the desire to avoid a hissing sound.

next to the abbesse lond 297/23.
next to the abbesse mede and mynchons of Godestowe 298/4; *iuxta pratum abbatisse et monialium de Godestowe.*
afore the abbesse proctour 94/20.

(ii) *Possessive-case noun placed second.*

of the forsaid acre mede 270/17, *acre prati.*
the sentence of this charter quyte-clayme is 528/15.
a hide lond 248/5, *hidam terre.*
the sentence of this lettir attorney is 347/21; 565/1.
one plough lond 268/13, *carucata terre.*
for the tythe hey 318/32, *pro decima feni.*
a yerde mede 55/20, *virga prati.*

Comparison of adjectives and adverbs.

The examples of comparison of adjectives and adverbs present us with several eccentricities. In particular, the translator could not hit upon a satisfactory rendering of the constantly recurring tenure-clauses *melius et plenius, melius et liberius,* and similar formulae.

as the charter . . . þerof more better and fullyer bereth witnesse 251/5.
as in the charter . . . more better and frelyer shewith and witnessith 484/10.

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as William de Rampan [correct Text from Latin] more frely and quyetlyer helde ever in his dayes 253/3, 4.
as he ever most best and most frely held hit 291/16.
with ony almesse in Englond most freliest, quyettisly and best I-holde 535/25.
as . . . his vncle helde hit moste best and frelieste in his life 631/25.
was I-hold in Englond most freist quyetyliest and best 658/18.

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xxiiij. of the moost gentylwomen that ye can fynde 26/25.
in the most fre and best wise 33/13.
to ther most grete nede 528/12.

þe more nihher 614/35, 36.
the more solempnyere and the more devoutly 489/35.
more sowther 66/10, 11.
more surere 583/4.
most best and most profitable 261/1.
the most northist lotte 307/35, 36.
the most westist lotte 307/34.

Personal pronouns.

There seems very little of distinctive matter to be gathered about the personal or other pronouns. There are possibly more frequent traces of the old dative case than are common now. There are alternative forms of the plurals of the pronouns of the third person. Here are set down such notes as have been made.

1st personal pronoun.—he us graunt 27/11, to us.

2nd personal pronoun.—Edyue, ryse the up, and . . . go ye there 26/22, 23.

Now of the lady y shal yow sey 26/13, to you.

3rd personal pronoun.—thys lady . . . all him hath shewed what God in a vysyon her had sende 26/28, to him, to her.

3rd personal pronoun plural.—to rede bokys and hem well vndurstonde 25/2.

in al so good a state as they resceived hem or better 317/20.
he shold pray to god for them 97/28.
to be paid to theym 193/9.

Omission of pronoun.

The 3rd personal pronoun (hit, hyt) is occasionally omitted, without 'there' being put in its place as would now be done.

Ofte to her come by a vysyon 26/15, it came, there came.

Redundancy of pronoun.

The 3rd personal pronouns are sometimes brought in, even where the noun is present, especially when other clauses intervene.

That heuenly spyce hit is ful swete 21/519.

presentid þat þe chaunteri þat was wonid to be do . . . hit is withdrawe now 69/3.

all the ryht that the . . . Couent had . . . they gafe hyt to the churche 228/26.

till the arreragis . . . they shold be fully I-paid 38/15.

Reflexive pronouns.

The reflexive element is always *-self* or *-selve*. I have noted no occurrence of *-selves*. There are several inaccuracies both as to gender and number.

the whyche pece of londe strecchyth hytself 80/18, 19.

þe bothe pertis consentid for hem-selfe 167/24.

v. acris . . . butten hem-self vpon the lond of the abbot 465/24.

Iohn and his heires bounde them-self 349/25.

as the markes haue them self 106/13.

ij. acris . . . the whiche strecch themself 246/14, 15.

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the crofte . . . that streccith hymself beside the grete gardeyn 242/26, 27.

ij. acris . . . the which lye . . . and strecchith hitself 375/5.

The simple third personal pronoun is found doing duty in place of the reflexive pronoun.

The wytnes that be callyd yf they wythdrawe hem to sey the trowth 47/6, i. e. themselves.

Hugh . . . and all the Couente . . . bounde theym and ther successours 183/18, i. e. themselves.

Possessive pronouns: third person.

The feminine singular shows a considerable variety of spelling.

the abbas of Godstowe and here couent 46/7.

þe seid Marget and hir heiris 609/1.

þe same abbas and hur churche 172/21.

borne of a mayde without hyre hurtying 7/102.

The neuter singular is, of course, *his*:—

the forsaid lond with all his pertynentis 33/17.

the hole maner of Wolgarcote with all hys pertenaunce 31/5.

The plural exhibits the same alternative forms as the personal pronoun.

ȝif þei haue chose her birieng among hem 1/10.

they made these her lettres patentes to them 37/24.
all other eschetis that shold happe of the forsaid men or her heires or her assignes 300/8, *vel heredibus eorum.*
þei distroye hit be þer power 1/16.
the forsaid abbesse and Couente bounde them self and ther goodes in þere maners 86/25.
their commune seale . . . they have put to 275/25.

Relative pronouns.

Attention has been called (p. cii), to the vexing frequency with which the translator makes use of featureless relative pronouns, *the which*, *which*, *that*, and neglects the inflexional, and therefore accurate, *who*.

The which.

The-which is used for all cases, genders, and numbers, often with great resulting obscurity.

ony . . . Iuge . . . the which the . . . couente wolde chese 38/27, quem, whom.
to the same abbesse and abbessis the which shold succede to her 133/12, quae, who (plur.).
The whych for as much þat he wolde haue hit sure, he confermyd hit by settyng of his seele 143/13.
euyryche of the wyche acris 339/13.
he and his heires and they by the whiche he was I-feffed 309/4, quibus, by whom.
to hym and to his heires and to them to the which he wold assigne them 244/30, quibus, to whom.

Which.

vnto þe comin of j. Alein þat was her vicare . . . whiche withdrowe . . . þe seide chauntri 69/12, qui, who.
to his heires and to his assignes to which that euer he wolde give it 278/20, quibus, to whom.
Now of the lady y shal yow sey, in whych maner and in whych wyse she lyuyd 26/13.

That: as relative pronoun.

That applies to all genders and numbers:—
in þ^{e} hows þat was his summe-tyme 235/20.
þe same pension þat þei wer wonid to take 132/21.

also, that that he decreyd . . . he shold charge ferm 47/4.
ij. hydys . . . tho that they held 33/6.

Edyve . . . that . . . edified the sayd churche 28/5, quae, who.
they had thre chyldre to-gedyr that much were fayre 26/11, qui, who.
to all pepull at þat time and þat were to come afterward 65/13.
and alle his successoures þat for þe tyme helde þe sayde church 139/5.

The above are all intelligible, but—

he willed that . . . his heires after hym, and he that he wold assigne or yeve hit, have and holde all the forsaid yerd-lond 241/33.

is unintelligible till the Latin has shown 'that' to be *cui*, to whom.

Who.

The translators, or one of the translators, was not ignorant of the inflected English *who*, of which so little use is made in the text.

possessive singular:—to hym thorow whose londys 45/15.
hys wyfe . . . of whos dowry was that forseyd londe 217/28.
in kinge Stephin's time, bi whos chartur 630/25.

possessive plural:—the abbotes . . . by wos menys there was a freyndely composition I-made 228/17.
to delyuer hym of the Iuys hondys in whos dettis at that tyme he was I-bounde 299/23, *de manibus Iudaeorum, quorum debitis.*

objective:—and to his heires or to whom he wold yeve . . . hit 241/22, et heredibus suis vel cui dare . . . voluerit; 243/26.
the abbas of Godstowe and her convent . . . ageynst whom . . . Robert . . . purposyd hys entent 47/13.

The translator is, however, not at his ease with this pronoun and uses it alongside of, or as alternative to, neuter forms.

In whoos wytnes he lete make hys patent letters 196/21.
the ovyn . . . whos dore is opened to the hye weye 495/6.
by the consent of Syr Robert fytz nigelle, of whoos fee the londe is and the whyche is cheefe and heed of the londe 218/19.
viij. acris of arable londe, halfe an acre of mede, and j. rode . . . whom or whyche the fadur sumtyme helde 233/19.

Whoever: whosoever.

into whoseuer hande the forsaid mylle were to be take 84/4.
londis and tenementis . . . to whos euer hondes they come 314/20.

Who-so-euir wille come ageynyste þe . . . gifte, . . . he shal knowe þat he is acursid 322/12.
his heires or his successours who so ever thei be 126/36.
to hys heyrys or to all othyr who-so-euyr they be . . . he wyllyth to gyfe hyt 223/11.
to ther successours or to ther assignes whosoeuer they be 501/29.
into whos-so-euer handis they come 38/8.
in whos-so-euer hondis they happen 314/34.
to who-soeueris hondis þei come 333/11.
to whom-so-euir he wille assine or gif hit 328/3.
to whom-so-euer he wolde yeue . . . hit 496/24.
to . . . his assignes or to who-so-euer they were yeve 269/28.

Whatsoever.

to his assigneis whatsoever thei be 125/1; 279/12.
for the arreragis therof whatsoever it be 126/24.
by there baillifs whatsoeuer þey be 145/25.
to hys heyrys or assynys what-so-euyr they be 223/21.
to everich and to all whatsoever they be 270/10, *cuicunque vel quibuscunque.*

This.

Nothing to note except uncertain spelling.
this confirmacion 205/1.
thys chartur 219/13.
these beyng witnesse 55/28.
theyes wytnes 39/16.
thise beyng witnesse 206/9.
þys presente wrytynges 177/12.

That: demonstrative: plural tho.

All þo been acursed þat 2/4.
Alle þo þat customably come 2/24.
þo peynes ben ful scharpe 23/561.

ij. hydys of lond . . . tho that they held 33/6.
the offeryngis (out-take tho that comyn in the forsaid fyfe days) 94/6.
the chief lordis of tho feis 392/3.

G or Y.

A number of words fluctuate between the hard initial *g* and its softened form *y*.

Gate and yate.

Gate occurs at least a score of times:—
the north gate of Oxenford 437/10.
Wynchestir . . . the est gate 669/34.
Yate occurs at least twice as often:—
the yate of the forseyd chyrch 28/29.
the yate of Godestowe 306/26.
the north yate of Oxenford 371/7; 379/1.
the yate of the castel 388/10.
the west yate of Seynt Poule 663/21.
the yates I-shitte 680/33.
Gate and yate are found in the same deed:—
the north gate 503/3; the southe yate 503/10.
the west gate of Seynt Poule 669/3; [Wynchester] . . . the north yate 669/10.

Geld and yeld.

gelde 653/31, 33.
yelde 318/24; 652/17; 656/10; 665/4.

Give and yeve.

See *supra*, pp. cvii, cviii.

Against and ayainst.

The form with *g* occurs more frequently than the form with *y*, but the latter is not uncommon. The spelling varies considerably.
agaynste 140/15; agaynyst 338/27; ageiniste 66/33; 200/29; ageniste 333/3; ageynyst 80/20; ageynst 506/6; agenst 454/31.
ayenst 33/18; 382/17; ayenste 51/9; ayens 1/1; ayenst 6/61.
Both forms are found in the same deed:—ageynyst 47/15; ayeynst 47/16.

Analysis of Field-names.

These Godstow deeds contain a great number of early field-names, drawn from widely separate localities. These names, in many cases, are built up by means of the same elements. In the following list they are grouped according to the alphabetical sequence of their apparent last factor. Not more than two references are given for any one name, unless for some special reason. Some other local names, e.g. of mills, are inserted for completeness' sake.

acre.

bal acre, Eastrop 614/34.
Carter's acre, Wytham 56/5; 57/15.
danichis acre, Bletchingdon 221/19.
diche acre 397/10; dyche acre, Oxford 398/5.
forne [a]cre, Evenley 201/13.
hac acre, Oxford 447/19.
Prynkes halfeacre, Wytham 58/11.
Wilmoteshalfeacre, Bletchington 221/31.
hede acre, Cassington 272/15; 'haued' in Latin.
heued acre, Oxford 374/19, 20.
hide acre, Cassington 246/16; 254/10.
krockers acre, Kings Clere 174/14.
mers acre, Bletchingdon 220/4.
mylle acre, Oxford 379/27.
myrys acre, Bletchingdon 214/19.
nine acres, Oxford 374/3.
seven acre, Oxford 369/2.
souene acre, N. Moreton 40/13.
ten acre, Rissington 154/17.
ten acres, Shillingford 546/17.
thennh acre, Oxford 453/3.
three acre, Rissington 154/7.
trente acris, Shillingford 538/14.
twenty acres, Oxford 365/7.

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battas, Meysyhampton 151/21.
wythibedde, Cassington 255/19.
bench, Eastrop 615/5; Highworth, 625/29.

borow.

bradeborowe, Eastrop 614/12.
goldsmythes borow, Oxford 465/22.
grene berow (bergh), Milton 360/3; 359/15.
herynge borow, Tew 550/20, 21.
spelburge, sepellburge, Bletchingdon 220/7, 23; 214/15.
vinych burgge, Wycombe 104/5.

brech.

brech, Blunsdon 599/7; 600/25; Bodington 593/7; Eastrop 615/13; Empshot 164/11; Kings Clere 175/8; Shillingford 543/27.
holewey brech, Cassington 277/5.
longe breche, Eastrop 614/16; Milcomb 354/3.
malmie breche, Eastrop 614/17.
micdel breche, Evenley 201/17.
storth breche, Cowley 321/4.

bridge.

churcheman brygge, Bletchingdon 214/12.
wode brigge, wode [b]rigge, Tew 551/2; 555/15; 558/3.

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brobattes, Cricklade 611/32.
gorbrode, Evenley 201/21.
shouel brode, Milcomb 354/10.
shule brede, Tew 550/18.

brook.

broken, Tew 554/27.
hursbroke, Bodington 593/7.
karsewelle broc, Bletchingdon 221/22.
northbroke, Bodington 589/14.

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ashen causey, Rissington 154/6.
chenosche, Cassington 254/10.

clive.

clyue, Blunsdon 599/8; 600/27.
heyclyue, Tew 550/23.
woweclyve, Tew 550/22.

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denechepes-cnolle, Eastrop 614/11.

combe.

combe, la cumbe, Blunsdon 599/13; 600/31.
elle combe, Eastrop 614/20; 620/21.
shoccombe, Eastrop, 614/14.
shortescome Cassington 305/31; 307/25.
smale combe, Tew 550/23.

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framcorde (frauncorde in Latin register), Cassington 289/18.

cot.

aywyepurcot, Kings Clere 177/5.
denpurcut, Kings Clere 172/30.
lambecote, lambe-cupe, Cassington 309/24; 306/11.
middelcote, Bodington 589/7.

croft.

barbe-crofte, Cassington 255/25.
brad crofte, bredcroft, brady croft, Bletchingdon 214/17; 220/13; 221/27; 225/2.
caluene croft, Fencot 331/14.
chalcrofte, Wytham 52/17; 60/3.
chirchecrofte, Oxford 366/11; 368/19.
denys crofte, Oxford 366/12.
est croft, Cassington 318/15.
frere crofte, Oxford 366/13.
gaytes (geytes) croft, Bletchingdon 222/2; 224/33.
herbelot croft, Westneston 592/14.
horscrofte, Kings Clere 171/29.
mede crofte, Cowley 319/22, 23.
mylle crofte, Wolvercote 576/28; 579/18.
new crofte, Cassington 254/4.
preuet croft, Kings Clere 174/29.
riscroft, N. Moreton 40/14.
strokyngescroft, Kings Clere 171/24.
taywyeres croft, Kings Clere 173/2.
walton croft, Oxford 372/15.
west croft, Shillingford 541/13, 14; 547/29.
wycroft, Oxford 458 n., 459/9.
wyke croft, Oxford 668/31.

cross.

hornys crosse, Halso, 207/27, 34.
stony crosse, Hughendon 73/9.

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langedale, Cassington 277/21.
staindelfe, Bletchingdon 214/26.
groundell, Shillingford 541/10.

ditch.

elde dich, Tew 551/13.
grene diche, Dinton 66/6; Oxford 465/25.
hawkelowe dyche 369/6; hawslon dich, Oxford 380/8.
wo dych, Oxford 373/4; 465/19.

dole.

from dol, Bletchingdon 220/38.
midel dol, Bletchingdon 220/37.

down, dune, den.

doune, Eastrop 620/27; dune, Bletchingdon 214/15.
Bulenden, Cowley 320/14.
grene downe, Cassington 306/4.
innesdon, Oakley 82/15.

litel faremannys done, Tew 557/33.
north dune, Milcomb 353/27; 354/12.
putlesden, puthlesden, Cassington 307/14; 284/13.
reddone, Eastrop 615/4.
rowendene, Highworth 625/10, 17.
tewalden, Bletchingdon 224/2, 30.
thoryndon, Cassington 270/30.
thystelden, Oxford 368/22.
walden, Bletchingdon, 221/18; 224 n.

ei, eit, heite.

heit, Seacourt 658 n.; heyet, Seacourt 322/23; 323/11; *see* hea heite.
bishoppis heyte (hayte), Oxford 396/25; 450/2.
litell chaleueye, Wytham 56/6.
corne heyte, Cassington 304/20; 309/20.
eilrichs eit, Oxford 447 n.
euertiches heite, Oxford 447/8.
francherdeie, Cassington 290/6; francwordy, Cassington 307/22.
goshei, Dinton 66/7.
hea heite, Seacourt 43/10.
horshey, Wytham 54/28.
lambey, Wolvercote 29/1; 381/8; 655/8.
lichesey 655/6; licheseyt, 657/4; licheseia, Wolvercote 573 n.
midelei, Wytham xxvi, 49/3.
pekeseye, pyxey, Wolvercote 573/11; 662/21.
portmaneit (heyt), Oxford 29/5; 653/22; 657/13.
rouuenye 319/9; roweneye 277/22; reweneye, Cassington 272/14.
schedday, Wytham 54/27; shorte shuddaye, Wytham 56/7.
sornheyte, Cassington 255/3.
thorney, Halso 207/12.
toddenei, Highworth 624/27.
wydehey, Wytham 47/17.

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elmes, Oxford 465/28.
kyngeweyesende, Cassington 289/20.
fordh sotere, Shillingford 538/2.
reuenere, Wytham 49/8.
sudere, Bletchingdon 222/4.
landewe, Highworth 626/6.

field.

blynd put feld, Cassington 277/15.
est feld, Blunsdon 599/15; 601/1; Evenley 201/6; Meyseyhampton 151/20; Milcomb 359/13; N. Moreton 40/5; Tew 557/29; Watereaton 632/24.
halde feld, Cassington 288/10; *see* olde.
north feld, Highworth 625/11; Milcomb 353/10; Tew 550/16; 557/27.
olde feld, Cassington 290/13; 308/31.
south feld, Blunsdon 599/11; Highworth 626/1; Milcomb 353/9; Tew 552/10; 557/30; Watereaton 632/28.
westefeld, Bletchingdon 221/31; Blunsdon 599/7; Evenley 200/20; Kings Clere 174/9; Meysyhampton 151/19; Milcomb 353/27; Milton 359/14; N. Moreton 40/8; Tew 550/11; 557/20.

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chypfen, Bletchingdon 214/22.
necre ferne, Evenley 200/25.
gurefeu, Highworth 626/9.

ford.

bern hulles ford, Tew 551/9; 557/30.

brade ford, Cassington 290/9; 301/23.
depford, Wytham 54/25.
heneforde, Tew 557/34.
longeforde, lonkeforde, Gloucester 141/8; 142/31.
theneldeford, Milcomb 354/8.

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est forere, Shillingford 546/16.
waterforn, Highworth 625/12.
fryth, Kings Clere 175/10; Woolverton 181/4.

furlong.

bacun forlonge, Milcomb 353/17.
batemore [forlonge: added from Latin], Cassington 299/17.
broclonges furlonge, Bletching- 220/27.
broke forlonge, Cricklade 611/31.
brumel forlonge, Eastrop 614/31.
burne furlonge, Kings Clere 174/11.
burt furlonge, Bletchingdon 220/19.
bynde were (bere) furlonge, Blunsdon 599/14; 600/32.
luttle chalde forlong, Highworth 625/19.
chalke forlonge, Shillingford 541/17; 546/15.
cher furlonge, Bletchingdon 220/31.
churegewei forlonge, Eastrop 614/30.
clif furlonge, Bletchingdon 220/5; 225 n.
litil colde forlonge, Eastrop 620/24.
cotman forlonge, Bletchingdon 214/18.
cran leke furlonge, Blunsdon 599/9; 600/28; Cricklade 611/32.
crow forlonge, Cassington 311/20.
curto forlonge, Cassington 297/23.
dodemanes forlonge, Blunsdon 601/1.
esne forlonge, Cassington 277/6.
heche furlonge, Bletchingdon 214/26.
hony forlonge, Ford 369/5.
hurth wel furlong, Tew 550/20.
hut furlonge, Bletchingdon 214/21.
longe. furlonge, Bletchingdon 221/29; Blunsdon 599/17; 601/3; Cassington 306/9; Cowley 319/26; Cricklade 611/30; Halso 204/21; Tew 550/19; 557/16.
longedenys forlonge, Cassington 277/3.
mere furlonge, Bletchingdon 220/34; meris forlonge, Shillingford 539/8.
myddyl furlong, Bletchingdon 214/21; middil forlonge, Eastrop 614/37; middel forlong, N. Moreton 40/7.
mille forlonge, Milcomb 353/12.
mochel forlonge, Cassington 286/7; 287/15.
more forlonge, Cassington 276/22.
morelake furlonge, Cassington 290/24.
more well forlonge, Milcomb 353/25.
ode furlonge, Cassington 276/24.
pol forlonge, Cassington 283/25; 308/20.
por forlonge, Cassington 290/21.
preste forlonge, Shillingford 537/12, 25.
pul furlonge, Bletchingdon 220/30.
pur furlonge, Evenley 201/9.
puse furlong, Shillingford 541/27.
put furlong, Cassington 277/8;

after 'John yonge' add (from the Latin) [and one half-acre lieth in Putfurlong between the land of Walter Morel and the land of Walter Yong].
putles denes forlonge, Cassington 289/21.
reuerdes forlonge, Highworth 626/1.
ru furlong 297/18; Roufforlunge 298/24; 301/18; Rowforlonge Cassington 299/9; 301/25.
sclade forlonge, Eastrop 614/8.
shal forlonge, Shillingford 547/25.
short forlonge, Cassington 299/15; 301/27.
shorte longe furlonge, Tew 550/17; 556/24.
shot forlonge, Milcomb 353/14.
stot furlonge, Eastrop 620/23.
strete forlonge, Shillingford 538/16.
thun furlonge, Halso 204/22.
vedermor forlonge, Watereaton 632/28.
verm furlong, Tew 556/19.
vox lewes forlonge, Tew 553/31.
vt forlonge, Milcomb 353/23.
wayte burge forlonge, Milcomb 353/30.
yorkeles furlonge, Blunsdon 599/11; þorkele forlonge 600/29.

gore.

gare, Shillingford 536/5; gore, Bodington 593/7; Shillingford 546/14; Tew 554/24; 557/21; gores, Oxford 465/17.
helde gore, Tew 551/5; olde gore, Tew 552/10; 558/4.

grove.

delthegrove, Kings Clere 169/29.
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INDEX II

WORDS AND PHRASES

The incessant repetition of formulae, the divergent choice of equivalents for the same Latin words made by the several translators, the anarchy of spelling, and like causes, render an Index of Words to the Godstow English Register a task of unusual, even Sisyphean difficulty. At the same time, the late date of the MS. removes the incentive of historical importance for vocabulary. Another cause of despondency is the certainty that several of the forms recorded are mere errors of the early transcriber, and will disappear when compared with the Latin.

I have tried to set out fully and clearly the distinctive features of the vocabulary, to discover the truth about words which were either apparently erroneous or clearly ambiguous, and, in especial, to explain briefly the vast number of technical terms.

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abyured, 108/7.
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awayte, to lie in, 6/62.
awayward, away, 16/348.
axe, to ask, 17/376, 37/15, 42/9, and so often; axed, 89/17, 413/4.
axer, plaintiff, 100/6, 133/5, 507/4, and so often.
axinge, asking, petition, 65/16.
ayeyn-writynge, rescriptum, 351/28.
ayene, again, 469/10, 506/22.
ayenst, against, cxxxiii.

bacwarde, 621/7.
bailifwike, 69/25.
baillys, bailiffs, 19/12; baillyfis, 598/8; bayles, 2/20.
baillyfshippis, 660/4.
baillywykis, 660/12.
barbour, 473/20.
bastard, a yerde of, 169/14.
bate, strife, 350/15.
be, *prepos.*, by, in proportion to, 1/16; by means of, 1/8; *see also* by.
because, in order that, 42/14.
bedrepe, lviii, 456/17.
befalled, *vb. intrans.*, oportuit, 368/12.
before, *see* bifore.
before handes, before handys, before hondis, pre manibus, 406/18, 516/14, 304/8, 505/14; *see also* byfore.
before remembred, 594/4.
begote = begotten, 60/7, 10, 361/25, 461/28, 490/22, 565/17.
behest, *subst.*, promise, 99/33; behestis, 1/8.
behestid, promised, 633/21.
behete, promised, 97/7, 18; byhete, 534/8.
behight, promised, 582/15.
behinde, in arrears, 337/31; behynde, 37/17, 193/17, 501/34; bihinde, 332/20; byhynde, 172/9, 200/2, 226/6.
behoef, 503/29.
behote, to promise, 1/8, 98/1, 183/12, 366/22.
behynde, I-put, set aside, 38/29.
belde, to build, 45/26.
belesire, grandfather, 163/6.
belesiris-fadir, 459/10.
beleve, doctrine, 1/15.
bench, a land term, cxxxiv.
benche, a shop-stall, 413/16, 27.
benefacturis, benefactors, 438/30; benefetours, 82/13, 605/4, 627/6.
benefetes, works of merit, 635/22; benefetis, 97/28, 238/24, 388/4; benefettes, 206/26; benefettis, 100/20; benefices, 98/9.
benefette, profit, advantage, 646/24; benefice, 585/5.
benefice of law, 167/10, 575/31.
bequeth, 241/3; biquethe, 273/29, 615/17; byquethe, 601/6; in the formula.
bery, bury, 10/182.
besaund, 228/10; besaunde, 334/11; besaunt, 131/21, 227/14; besaunte, 324/4, 339/23; besauntis, 248/15, 390/21.
besily, 641/7; besely, 677/6.
best and freliest, 628/27; beste and freeste, 631/24, cxxvii.

beste willed, *adj.*, well inclined, 10/178.
bestys, averia, 181/9.
besy, 6/75, 27/3.
besynesse, 681/28.
beteryngis, improvements, 509/24.
better, to improve, 267/5.
beyng-therto, adiacentes, 285/16; perhaps error for 'lying'.
beyonde the day, 506/24.
bi, *prepos.*, by, 322/2, 323/2; bi yere, 330/25, 332/13; *see also* by.
bide, to remain, 65/6; byde, 221/9.
bifore, 598/26; *see* before.
bihinde, *see* behinde.
bilded, built, 470/18; bylded, 573/7.
bildyngis, 603/30, 627/8, in formula.
bileue, creed, 8/116.
bipatthis, 326/28; in privileges formula, lxi; bypathis, 354/17.
biquethe, *see* bequeth.
biried, buried, 1/9, 633/11; birieng, 1/10.
bisshophode, episcopatus, 93/16; bishoprich, 89/10; bisshopriche, 585/11; bysshopryche, 650/2; bisshopricke, 95/13.
bisshopriche, diocese, 166/11.
bisi, 167/12.
biside, 632/15.
bitwene, 167/2, 243/13, and so often.
biyng, of, de empto, 243/2.
biynges, emptiones, 244/28.
blissyng, 577/24.
blynde put, the, 277/15; *see* blende welle, cxliii.
blynne, to, 6/75.
bode, past tense of *bide*, 527/14.
bodili, an othe, 131/24; bodely, 594/26.
boke oth, a, 632/36.
bondage, the status of serfs, 559/22.
bondages, the lands held by serfs, 257/15.
bonde, servile, 559/10.
bonde of birthe, 559/10.
bonde-holders, 191/17, 603/30; bounde holders, 627/9.
bonde holdes, lands held by serf-tenants, 605/8.
bond lond, 318/22.
bondmen, 188/15, 605/8, lvi.
bonde tenauntis, 189/36.
bonde, past tense of *bind*, 488/3, 507/27, 607/8, cxii; bounde, 338/7, 507/29.
boost, 5/32.
bordennys, burdens, 149/17.
within the borough or without, a legal formula, 529/1, 670/9; *see* burgh.
borow, borowe, surety, 336/32, 338/6, 462/10, 475/18.
borow, burgage, 611/24, 612/3.
borow, a field term, cxxxiv, 465/22.
botelere, 533/11.
bothe partyes, the, 146/20, 167/24, 440/25.
bounde, *see* bond.
boundynge, adjacent, 49/16.
bowed, persuaded, 674/14.
bowhte, past tense of *buy*, 195/28, cxii.
bowndis, 66/1.
braule, assault, 13/278.
brech, brechia, a field term, cxxxiv.
brede, width, 45/21, 66/15, 81/31, 391/1; the form 'breadth' does not occur.
breef, breve, the king's writ, 206/3, 507/2; bref, 358/26.
breke, to obtain cancelling of, 157/25.
brenne, to burn, 601/25; brennyng, 602/4; brennid, 137/19; brennyd, 38/18.
brethered, 602/12.
briggis, bridges, 29/13, 665/7.
brobattes, 611/32.
broder, broader, 485/24.
broken, = the brook, 554/27.
brotherhede, fraternitas, 93/13.
brynke, river-bank, 108/15, 373/8, 531/9.
burdyns, loads, 34/4.
burgage, 686.
within burgh and without burgh, 665/1; *see* borough, in.
busshes, fagots of underwood, 678/7.
busshis, underwood, 459/9.
busshying, *verbal subst.*, collecting fagots, 671/11.
but, except, unless, 35/20, 468/1; but 3if, 1/16.
but, butte, buttes, buttis, selio, sullo, a field term, 368/21, 208/27, 215 *n.*, 277/8, 373/31, 615/9, 60/5, 301/22.
butte is used of arable land, 56/6, and also of meadow, 56/7.
buttith, abutteth, 108/15; butten, abut, 443/26.
by, *prepos.*; *see also* be, bi.
by long tyme, 267/3; by one monthe, 470/25; by thre days, 612/14; by yere, 242/30, 431/8.
by case, si forte, 466/11, 496/33.
by cause of, ratione, 278/6.

by, to buy, 503/28; byinge, 195/17: *see also* biyng.
byde, *see* bide.
byfore, 612/6: *see also* before.
byfore hond, pre manibus, 79/19; byfore hande*s*, 607/18; byfore handys, 198/22: *see also* before.
byfore rehersyd, 228/32.
byfore-wrete, 173/15.
bygynnynge, 606/16.
byhete, promised, 534/8.
byhynde, *see* behinde.
bylded, *see* bilded.
byleuid, ? left to the decision of, 325/22: some error.
bynder, 490/13; ligator = bookbinder.
bynemers, ablatores, 43/16.
bynethe, beneath, 366/28.
bypathis, 354/17: *see* bipatthis.
byquethe, *see* bequeth.
bysyde, 217/2, 320/20.
bythowt, outside of, 215/6.
bytwene, 221/20; and so often.
bytwyx, 221/18, 223/8.

cakys, xxxi, 87/26.
calumpnye, legal impediment, 419/10.
candylmes day, 649/16.
caral, 24/608.
cariage, a *corvée* work for the king, 665/7, 670/16.
cariour, glasier, 475/6.
cariyng, 458/23, 459/24.
carri, ? quarry, 153/5.
carrys, 215/10.
cartes, 215/10; cartis, 671/10.
cartfull, 178/6.
carthous, 318/11.
by case, si forte, 466/11, 496/33.
case falle, to, accidere, contigere, 79/16.
case fallyng, 38/16, 17.
cast downe, to fell, 317/22; castyng downe, destruction, 463/28.
catall, catell, chattells, cxxv.
cathedracion, 14/305.
cauelacion, 357/4; cauillacion, 325/26.
cawse, in ony, 497/19.
celer, 412/4, 414/5.
censure of the church, 46/20, 89/4, 139/8, &c.
certayn, duly appointed, 206/6, 411/24; certeine, 337/12; certeyne, 597/1.
chalenge or axe, vendicare vel exigere, 302/22.
chamber, 318/12, 415/11, 17, 448/19, 485/20.
chamerer, camerarius, 327/23.
chanell, stanulla, 491/18.
chapeleyn, 487/2; chapeleyne, 634/8; chapelleyn, 633/12; chapylleyne, 350/9; chapeleyns, 644/12; chapellayns, 644/17; chapellaynys, 649/31.
chapleinhode, 166/1.
chapiter, chapitir, chapitre, chapitur, chapetur, chapter, chaptur:—the formal meeting (i) of a conventual body, e.g. Godstow, 150/10, 267/16, 275/27, 312/24, 384/24, 463/13, 469/25, 488/25, 611/15, 612/35, Oseney, 370/23, Christ Church, Canterbury, 419/14; (ii) of a cathedral body, e.g. Lincoln, 30/14, 341/9, 342/28, 343/25, Bath and Wells, 584/29; (iii) of the clergy of a rural deanery, Oxford, 476/11, Cirencester, 131/13, 132/1; Godstow privilege in regard of, 644/18, 646/5.
charitifly, 386/1.
charturd, entered on the rolls, 78/22.
chaste, to chastise, 10/186.
chaumy, straw, 357/28.
chauncellarye, 446/6, 637/25.
chaunge, exchange, 204/28, 243/12, 451/24.
chaunsyng, happening, 86/21.
chaunter, 350/5.
chefe mese, capitale messuagium, 301/7.
in the chef crowne, held of the crown in chief, 91/1; cp. 667/10.
cheker, exchequer, 241/11.
cherset, church-scot, lxxix, 649/10.
chese, to choose, 22/554, 38/27, 254/18, 645/2.
chesible, chasuble, xxxvi, 661/15, 667/8.
cheyne, 508/26.
chirch, 299/28.
chivaler, 318/3; chyualer, 316/21.
chose, thing, 16/344.
chyrry, 19/442.
chyualer, *see* chivaler.
ciuile, *subst.*, the civil law, 3/8.
claymyd to be quiet, 198/30; claymyd to be quietid, 229/27; claymyd to be quite, 627/1; claymyd to be in rest, 81/15, 199/4; claymyd quite, 159/12, 171/10; claymed quytte, 266/5, 6; quiete-clamavit, xciv.
clene, sure, 49/17, 677/25.

clennely, thoroughly, 674/21.
clepith, summon, 1/21.
cloos, 7/108.
close pastures and open pastures, pascua et pasturae, 258/29; pasturis closed and not closed, 316/26.
close, to enclose, 182/20, 240/6.
closid, enclosed, 67/5.
closis, 613/18.
closyng, enclosure, 681/30.
closyngis, fences, 492/31.
clowe gelofre [the normal spelling; occurs over a dozen times], xxiv, 117/20, 400/10; clowe gelofure, 108/29, 112/20, 114/32, 115/22; clowe of gelofre, 449/15.
cohercion, 88/17.
comaunded, mandavit, 88/32, 635/30.
to come agayn, contravenire, 380/24; to come ayenst, 416/15, 16.
to come owte, 480/25.
comenyth, associate with, 2/11.
comenyng, 3/6.
comforters, 30/11.
comin, cumin, xliii, 618/29, 627/9.
commendacion, 97/22.
commoditeis, 401/26, 417/14.
commonly, in general, 96/4, 97/25.
commune, rights of common pasture, 182/28, 208/28, 371/25.
commune of the market, a fee established by custom, 101/21.
commune corne, definition of, 636/23.
commune lawe, the, 350/12.
communitees, communitates, 339/6.
compereres, parties present in court, 350/10; comperid, 71/19; comperyng, 89/15, 575/35.
competently, adequately, 469/6, 511/21.
compotent, suitable, 93/32.
compoune, compowne, to settle by mutual agreement, 323/27, 350/10; compownid, 632/5.
comune, *subst.*, common pasture, 611/28.
comyn, *adj.*, common, 231/21.
confraternite, 388/4.
coniurisones, 1/15.
constitucion, in the canon law, 325/25, 27.
constreyning and distreyning, 38/10, 414/22, 506/17; distreininge and constreininge, 336/25.
content, contained, 97/30, 358/4.
contente, satisfied, 194/23.
content, contention, 89/16.
contestate, 578/24.
contined, contained, 138/5; ? clerical error.
contrauersie, 229/11; usual spelling.
contynuelly, 470/2.
conuencion, agreement, 81/21, 131/18.
conuenient, fully qualified, 97/8.
conuencionall, expressing an agreement, 458/33.
conuentuell, 184/13.
convicte, = convicted, 95/4, 325/16.
coppis, cups, 168/14.
cordewayner, 472/6.
cordewaynerye, 510/5.
corn, commune, 636/23; menglyd, 231/15.
corne, blada, growing crops, 241/34; cornes, cxxiii.
corne of grayne, one, 434/28.
correccion, 644/23, 646/11.
correcte, to punish, 644/22, 646/10.
corodye, xxvii, 483/23; corrodye, 393/20.
corvyser, 449/8; coruyser, 450/3.
cost, effort, 7/96.
cosyn, consanguineus, 256/10.
cotage, 319/2, 5.
coteland, 252/15, 16.
coteler, 403/15.
coterell, lvii, cxxv.
councell, legal adviser, 25/18.
counsayl, *vb.*, 25/11.
counseil, *subst.*, 266/27.
countre, patria, almost = county, 87/1; cuntre, 637/30, 644/10; countreyes, 261/2.
court, action at law, 304/3.
courte, quadrangle, 482/7; cowrte, 301/9.
courte, garden and other enclosures of a manor-house, 66/2, 230/28.
couth, were able, knew how, 14/301; cowth, 23/583.
coveryng, coopertura, thatched roof, 317/18, 402/20.
couenable, fully qualified, 97/21, 681/10.
couenable, adequate, 676/23.
cowchaunte, 578/20.
cowhous, 318/11.
cowri, vaccaria, 331/14; cowerye, 678/3.
cowrte, market-place, 195/18: *see* court.
cowth, *see* couth.
creyme, chrisma, 644/15, 646/2, 681/4.
crisme, 644/15.
cristemasse lyueray, 23/575.

cristen, Christian, 110/12, 259/13.
cristin courte, ecclesiastical court, 637/6.
cronockes, 144/7.
croppe, 355/21.
crossyd, scored out, 206/18.
crowne, held of the, 31/1, 667/11.
culture, a division of a corn-field, 592/14: cp. tilth.
culuerhous, lv, 188/12, 189/33, 603/30, 605/7.
cumbe, cxxxv, 600/31.
cundit, 44/22; cundyt, 45/15.
cuntre, *see* countre.
cure, cura, charge, 646/11.
curse, excommunication, 47/8.
cursed, excommunicated, 680/33.
cursyng, excommunicatio, 2/7, 30/4.
curtell, kirtle, 443/14.
curyous, strange and delightful, 24/608.
custome, a king's tax, 659/12; customs, 665/10.
customablich, habitually, 2/29; customably, 2/24.
customabli, in due form, 70/28; customably, 579/38.

dailes, sine die, 638/23.
danegelde, 652/17, 653/31, 656/9, 665/5.
date and doyng, 147/25.
the date and I-acted, 370/24.
decese, to die, 470/31.
decesses, deaths, 465/4.
decreyd, decreed, 351/5.
dedly, mortalis, 147/14, 200/12.
deduce, to apply, 181/25.
deene, rural dean, 644/18.
defaute, lack, deficiency, 25/2, 314/38; defawte, 371/18.
defawtyng, negligence, 519/14.
defence, defense, protection, 182/8, 581/27, 670/27.
defendaunt, 136/9.
defended, undertook to maintain, in warranty formula, 271/7, &c.
defender, in a law-suit, 159/1, 591/9, 635/6.
defensed, protected, 677/15.
deferre, to submit for trial, 93/11.
defile, to injure, 95/3: cp. defowler.
deforcer, deforciens, defendant in a law-suit, 133/5, 159/32; deforcynge, 170/26; deforsyng, 584/16; deforcyd, 172/8.
defowler, injurer, 645/5: cp. defile; defoyler, 646/16.
defoyllyd, injured, 206/18.
degre, 7/94.
degre, 16/369.
deken, diaconus, 3/5.
delectacion, 6/73.
delegaci, commission to act as delegate, 136/7, 631/27.
delegat, delegated, 167/25.
to deliuer þe distres, 332/25, i. e. re-take possession of.
delyueraunce, transference, 407/11; delyueryng, 246/29, 429/9.
demaunde, claim, 271/5; in formula.
demayne, land in lord's own possession, 230/28; demaine, 636/14; demaynes, 243/30, 257/14.
demayne, *adj.*, 43/9, 208/5; demain, 632/26.
deme, to judge, 7/111; to be demed, 206/4.
deme, to decide, 647/22.
departe, to separate, 2/11, 3/27, 120/11, 171/27, 645/6, 682/11.
departed, marked out as separate, 404/13, 475/10.
departyng, division, 537/13.
departyngys, boundary-mark, 81/33, 107/19.
departyngly, divisim, 86/12, 683/2; opposed to 'jointly'.
depith, 389/21; depthe, 391/2; depyth, 382/9, 392/24; depenesse 391/1.
depreved, 682/9.
derkely, *adj.*, 21/515.
derkes, grows dark, 11/201.
derogacion, infringement, 633/2, 23.
descroiyng, districcio, 261/9.
destroiyng, destruction, 485/26.
destruer, destroyer, 645/5; destryer, 646/16.
detecte, made evident, 231/1.
determe, to determine, 167/3.
detturs, 337/1.
devided, marked out as distinct, 387/2.
dew, competens, available of right, 304/5.
dewe, due, owed of right: dewe and wonyd seruyce, debitum et consuetum servicium, 272/30.
dewyd, dotavit, 482/1.
dewte, legal obligation, 231/11.
dewteys, dues, 340/3.
deyed, died, 676/8.
dichid, 67/5.
diffinityf, 139/2, 10.
diffyne, to decree, 367/26; diffynyng, 366/22.
diffynycion, decree, 367/18, 32.

diffynytifly, 89/33.
dignite, honour due, 648/5.
dilacion, delay, 139/12.
dirige, 97/23.
discesse, death, 585/6.
disese, discomfort, 372/2.
disheritinge, 69/13.
dispayre, *verb reflexive*, 8/124.
dissesininge, act of eviction, 608/29; disseysenynge, 237/20.
dissesyd, evicted, 236/24.
distreininge, act of levying by distraint, 337/26; distreynyng and constreynyng, 469/21, 38/10.
distreynyngis, goods taken by distraint, 38/12.
distresse, to distrain, 137/25.
distressinge, act of distraint, 137/23.
distresse, distresses, goods taken in distraint, cxxiv.
distroiyng, destroying, 317/22, 463/27.
distrobulers, 651 *n.*
distrouble, disturbare, 653/18, 659/13, 662/12.
distruccion, 416/26.
distruid, 137/19.
distyncte, marked out as separate, 475/10.
diuided, marked out, 106/20: *see* devided, dyvyded.
do, *expletive verb*:—we done holde, 21/505; erroures... þat doon spryng, 24/597; he dide apere, 7/107; dide blede, 4/3; þei dide here lede, 7/112; dyd make, 237/17; did warantiȝe, 190/19.
done out of, expelled from, 1/22.
doer, actor, plaintiff in a law-suit, 47/33.
doffe-house, lv, 318/10; 627/8; duffe-howsys, 350/20; 559/17: *see* culverhous.
dome, decision, 644/21.
dome, the last, 676/28.
domesday, 7/110.
doughtirs, 587/3; dowhters, 629/10; dowhtyrs, 648/13.
doune, cxxxv, 620/27.
dowcet, 23/563.
dowery, dowre, dowri, dowrye, lxix, 687.
the dowery of the chirche, 119/12.
dreve, to drive, 418/34.
drownid, destroyed by flood, 137/19.
duffe-howsys, *see* doffe-hous.
dure, to continue, 653/15, 662/8, 667/26.
duryng, 86/21; in abl. absol. phrase.
dwellyng places, 590/24.
dyer, 513/10.
dyes players, 3/1; dyse playing, 3/4.
dyght, *adv.*, fittingly, 10/179.
dymytted, dismissed, 231/18.
dystrubylauns, 651/4.
dyvided, 551/30.
dyvyded, marked out, 393/28, 434/33: *see* diuided.

eche, each, 194/29, 424/3.
echyng, lii, 339/15, 613 *n.* 3.
eclipsed, darkened, 18/420.
edified, built, 28/6.
egall, equal, 402/3.
viii. dayes, the, octave, 588/12.
eisementis, 223/14, 485/4, 559/20.
elnys, ulnae, 427/23, 435/2, 495/19.
elys, 671/21, 672/15.
emperesse, 658/23; emperice, 574/4.
enchartred, 261/3, 355/6.
encheson, for the, ratione, 269/21.
encrese, increased value, 34/16; encresyng, 35/9.
encrese, incrementum, augmentum, technical field term, lii, 151/21, 613/19; encresyng, 254/8.
encresinge, augmentation, 136/1.
ende, conclusion of a dispute, 47/3.
endented, 127/6, 470/39.
endenture, 512/9.
endited, indebted, 393/17.
enhabit in, to, 448/20.
enplede, 594/6, 595/8.
entende, to be resolved on, 89/29.
entendaunte, obedient, 561/6.
entent, desire, 6/76, 13/276.
entent, claim made by a litigant, 47/14, 89/30, 636/12.
enterchaungeably, 127/6.
enterdited, interdicted, 1/20, 680/34; entirdityng, interdict, 680/32.
entermete, to intromit, 380/20; entremetre, 14/306.
entrynges, introitus, 244/1, in formula.
entryng, a breef of, 413/4, 439/32.
eny, any, 31/9, 304/5.
equyte, equity, 576/15.
erable, arable, 29/9, 224/21.
ere, arare, 182/21, 447/6; eryng, obligation to plough for the manor, 203/6, 447/8.
erthe walles, 506/25.
ertheli seruice, servicium seculare, 64/24.
eryhtage, 572/5.
eryl, 227/9.

eschange, eschaunge, escambium, 175/11, 157/5, &c.: *see also* chaunge.
eschekor, 240/2; escheker, 267/3: *see also* cheker.
eschetes, forfeitures, lix, 67/19, 226/2, in formula.
esementis, 77/1; esimentes, 623/8, in formula.
especyal, 24/604.
estymacion, computation, 47/24.
evel, *adv.*, badly, 471/14.
euen, in accounts, 5/53.
euen, equal, 272/23, 470/9.
euynlike, 217/14, 647/34.
even ayenst, ex opposito, 404/3, 439/34, &c.
euericheˇ, 72/7.
euerith, 464/12: 't' read for 'c'.
all other every dayes, 94/1, = every other day, except those specified.
euidence, document, 175/18, 607/24.
euinaunt, French *avenant* = ayant bon air, 26/11.
euiri, 137/29.
euirich, 137/31; euyrych, 627/22.
euyrlastyngely, 213/3, 503/28.
ewangeliste, 612/36.
exaccion, demand for payment, 30/23, 270/15, 681/4; in formula.
excepcion, legal objection, 48/6, 167/11, 461/4.
except to, *prepos.*, 261/32.
excessis, lawless actions, 637/23.
excusyd of, excused from, 25/5.
execucion, to do, carry out to an end, 636/6.
exempte, 136/30.
expenses and harmys, money laid out and damages incurred, 176/5, in formula.
extente, extensio, measurement, 372/6.
extincte, unclaimed, 316/8.
extra-ordinarie, 317/8.
eyre, heres, 338/30; eyeris, heredes, 142/16; eyrys, 30/23, 573/2: *see* heires.
eysementes, 214/8; eysementis, 484/6; in formula.

fader, father, 517/22; fadir, 343/24, 531/4; fadur, 574/3; fadyr, 572/5; fadres, 604/16; fadirhode, 641/2.
faile, omission, 184/14.
fair, yearly market, 690, called also fairs, perhaps because held on more than one day. Feire, 608/21; feyere, 651 *n.*; feyre, 651/1; faieres, 662/8; faires, 653/17, 662/10; feyris, 653/14.
falle, accidere, 285/7; falle, contingere, 302/5: past tense felle, 480/12, but usually fille, 94/10, 132/5, &c.
false clayme, 237/26: a suitor who failed to establish his claim had to pay a mulct to the court pro falso clameo.
fastynges, jejunia, as works of merit, 182/11, 604/17.
fedinge, pasture, 202/4.
fedyngis, pascua, lx, xciv, 75/10, 240/22, &c.: *also* fedyng places, 243/32, 270/8.
fee-ferme, a lease, especially a long lease, 195/7, 197/19, 440/11, 460/10.
feffe, to give legal possession, 258/20, 330/17, 482/16.
feffement, 59/4, 484/7, &c.
feffynge, 79/31, 483/1.
feis, feudal estates, 263/22, 392/3 feys, 256/24.
fere, companionship, 16/372.
feria, week-day, 93/26; ferial daijs, 634/6.
ferme, fixed rent, 192/2, 14, 195/12, 618/7.
ferme and stable, 227/5, 262/24; ferme and sure, 173/16; in formula.
fermery, infirmary, xxiii, 465/18; fermorye, 398/22, 455/7, 521/8.
Feuerere, February, 563/29.
fewte, fidelitas, lviii, 132/4, 314/11, 384/23, 389/29; fewteys, 559/18; fewteis, 564/16.
feythe and trowþe, 178/28.
figure of jugement, formal trial, 367/24.
fine, *see* fyne.
firses, furze, 343/5.
fishwere, *see* fyshwere.
fisshinges, 633/19; fisshyngis, 680/23: *see* fysshyngis.
fitȝ, filius, 299/26.
fitȝ erle, 629/8, 631/3.
flex, 227/3.
flowe, fled, 659/21; past tense of flee.
for his powere, to the utmost of, 98/2, 334/12.
for cause of, ratione, 285/5.
forbede, forbade, 659/13, 680/26.
fore, forenamed, 182/24, 488/28.
fore-mynded, 587/7.
fore-put, 261/13, 370/35, 588/26.
fore-writte, 261/16.
foreign service, forinsecum servi-

cium, lxiii, 41/25; forayn service, 244/5, 255/34; foreyn (foreyne) seruyce, 83/18, 189/4, 295/2, 600/4; So also—foreyn accion, a claim from outside the manor, 481/6; forrenge courte, a feudal court other than the manorial court, 109/18.
forer, foraria, a ploughed strip, 221/15, 338/16, 353/16, 368/21, 539/5: *see also* forowe.
forfettid, did injustice, 671/2.
forȝeue-to, 6/65.
forlonge, 276/17, cxxxvii.
fornyce, 318/10.
forowe, foraria, a ploughed strip, 66/5, 11, 283/28, 297/25; identical with forer, 353/17, 539/26.
forrenge, *see* foreign.
forthe, 491/29; afturwarde forþe, 635/15; forth-forewarde, 159/6.
fortuned, obtained by fortune, 365/11.
foryoven, forgiven, 348/15.
fote, feet, 485/23.
fouchesauf, to vouchsafe, 93/10; fowchesafe, 27/11.
fraunchyse, limits, 200/4.
fre dowry, 688.
fre-goynge, right of way, 181/29.
fre-holders, lvi, 603/30, in formula.
fre mariage, 688.
fre persones, 680/24; may be either not-serf, or not-married.
fre socage, 617/16.
fre tenauntes, 605/8, 627/9, in formula.
fre tenauntry, liberum tenementum, 250/19.
frealte, frailty, 8/136.
freeste, 631/24.
frelieste, 628/27, 631/25.
fro, 28/7, 178/3.
from, away from, 1/9.
froiture, refectorium, 273/30, 275/19.
frowardely, disobediently, 644/20.
frutes, 628/26.
fugitifs, 659/19.
ful, *adv.*, altogether, 11/222: *see* full.
fulerant, fuller, 89/26.
fuleree, fulling, 44/6.
full, *adv.*, extremely, 576/3: *see* ful.
full age, 491/20.
full shire, fully constituted and attended court, 258/20; cp. full chapter, 312/24, 469/25.
full close, percludere, to close completely, 251/24.
fullers, 648/28.
fullych, fully, 647/35.
furthered, 658/22.
fylthed, filthiness, 24/594.
fynably, finabiliter, finally, 245/8.
fynde, to keep supplied, 394/1.
fyne, without, finabiliter, finally, 302/3.
fyne, a payment made to have an end of a transaction:—
(i) fynys, 559/18, or (more fully), fynes of londes, 603/32, 605/10, 627/11; payments to the manor on becoming a serf-tenant, lix.
(ii) fyne, a payment made in court to complete the legal conveyance of land, 488/16; and so, generally, a final agreement, 133/14, 164/18, in formula.
(iii) fyne, a payment to the king to obtain sanction for a transaction, especially in mortmain, 186/9; 313/14, 446/5, 451/7.
fysshers, 401/23; fissher, 515/1.
fysshyngis, exclusive right of fishing, lxi, 458/16; fysshwere, piscaria, 401/23, 653/12; fysshweres, 38/9; fysshweres, 379/25; fysshweris, 315/30; fysshewris, 402/4, 458/29; fysshynge-were, 573/9.

gabill, of a house, 382/5.
gardeyns, guardianships, 561/1.
gardynes, gardens, in the manorial formula, 302/32; gardynys, 625/8.
gare, 536/5.
garner, 318/11.
gedurarys, gatherers, 25/17.
gelde, a tax levied by the king, 653/31, 33.
gersumm, gersuma, payment, 209/16.
to gete or to lese, = to win or to lose, a legal formula by which a litigant undertakes to accept the verdict of the court, 81/8, 100/7, 158/21.
getinge, taking of distraint, 69/26.
getyngis, perquisita, acquired property, 244/29, 489/2, 559/14.
gilden, 132/23.
gilfulli, guilefully, 69/12.
gloser, 513/12.
godspelys, 230/5; godspellis, 71/4, 261/18; godespellys, 575/36.
goynge in, 215/12.
goinge oute, goynge oute, exitus, right of way, 202/5, 216/6, 339/6.
goyng out, exitus, profits, 239/20.
to goo ageyne, 215/13.
good doers, benefactors, 30/11, 603/27.

goodly, bene, 396/29.
in goodnesse, 459/17.
gore, 224/32, 288/14, 305/24, cxxxviii.
goter, 402/22.
grace, good report, 21/507.
gracias, thanks, 12/232, 251.
grangis, 318/10.
graunt dame, grandmother, 122/22, 667/19.
grauntesire, grauntsire, 64/12, 163/6, 658/22.
greef, interference with, annoyance, 653/34, 656/11, 658/24; gref, 647/9; grefis, 674/13; greves, 155/10; grevis, 136/13; greuis, 637/23; gryef, 34/7.
greted, 574/21.
grevaunce, 593/15; greuance, 632/35.
greve, to annoy, disturb, 482/25; to be greuid, 34/7, 186/23.
greuis, *see* greef.
greuynge, *subst.*, exaction, 645/25.
greynys, grains, 232/7.
griste, 135/11, 136/2.
gule of August, 602/13.

h, 570 *n.*, 648 *n.*—*see* abite, eyre, hoth, ouris, whas, whe.
habite of religion, 384/3; seculer habite, 397/15.
haijs, fences, 331/4.
hailysyng, 574/22; halsyng, 93/5.
halewyngis, consecrations, 681/4.
halfe yerdlonde, li, 220/3.
halle, the public room of a house, 318/9, 482/3.
halle, a manor-house, 623/4.
hallymote, **halymote**, a manorial court and those present at it, 536/8, 14.
halsyng, *see* hailysyng.
hamme, 567/18, 579/11; hammes, 576/24; hammys, 401/26: cxxxviii.
in hande, in charge and protection, 656/15; in honde, 652/21, 654/2, 656/25, 660/16.
to hang-to, append (a seal), 138/14, 200/14 (*read* hangyd to, euerych), 367/28, 549/19.
the hanging to, affixing a seal, 70/31.
hangyng, during, 212/9.
hangynge, *pres. part.*, appertaining, 631/22.
hangyngis, appurtenances, 592/19.
happe, contingere, 60/8, 300/8; happith, 126/12.
happinde, happened, 137/17.
hard corn, 356/1.
hardy, presumptuous, 667/30.
harm, *vb.*, 684.
harmes, dampna, damages incurred, 160/10, 506/21; harmis, 325/20, 608/33; harmys, 45/15, 159/13, 237/24; harmes and expensis, 38/14, 137/29: *see* expenses.
harmelesse, indempnes, 37/11, 304/9.
harowyng, 203/7.
haserdowres, 3/1; haserdyng, 3/4.
haterad, 136/14; haterede, 575/11.
hay, fence, 528/4.
haye, haya, a field name, 296/21, 301/29, cxxxix.
hayes, fences, in the manorial formula, lx, 559/16, 564/15.
heche, a field term, lii, 615/1.
hede, of a water-conduit, 44/22.
hed, of land, 320/21; hede, 246/16, 501/11; heed, 225/4; hedis, 576/28; hedys, 215/5.
hede acre, acra capitalis, 272/15, 374/23, 377/15.
hede halfe acre, 599/12; halfe hed acre, 614/13.
hede house, domus capitalis, 101/21.
heestis, commands, 4/14.
hegge, to fence in, 240/5.
heggis, fences, 121/17, cxxxix: more commonly in the softer form hayes.
heires, 391/2, heiris, 66/32: *see also* heyris.
hele, health, 573/5.
helpis, auxilia, lviii; definition of, 267/24: *see also* aidis.
help, auxilium, in the manorial sense, 280/30, 458/19, 459/21, 495/10; helpes, 628/16; helpis, 342/12, 628/16; helpis, 605/10, 627/10.
helpis, imposed by the crown, 653/32, 656/9; helpys, 665/4.
in helth or in sikenesse, a stock legal formula, 277/26, 412/10, &c.: *see* hole.
hemp, 86/22.
her, their, 440/25, cxxviii.
her, to hear, 635/32.
herbage, 239/20.
herbare, herbalist, 486/18.
herbis, 154/32.
herberynges, lx, 645/25; herborowh, 330/25; herborowinge, 330/29; herborough, 10/180.
herde, cxxxix.
here, to hear, 575/29, &c.
heriette, lix, 332/17; heriettis, in

the manorial formula, 363/15, 559/19, &c.
heritably, hereditarie, 242/29.
heritage, 305/16.
hertly, heartily, 471/7.
hervest, 456/17, 461/24, &c.; heruyst, 612/13.
heryng, herring, 642/6.
hestur, Easter, 648/21; hesturday, 648/24; hester eve, 648/30.
heued, cxxxix.
heuedacre, 374/19, 377/5, 15.
heuedhierde, 319/27.
hevy, to vex, 658/25.
hey, hay, 318/26, &c.; the first heye, 458/22, 459/24; heying, haymaking, 203/7; heymonger, 404/23; heyis, 579/8, cxxxiii.
heyeris, 608/14; heyrys, 78/13, 338/21; (h)eyrys, 49/6, 570/13: *see also* eyre, heires.
hide, 301/17: *see* hyde.
hide acre, 254/10.
hierde, 319/27.
hire, to hear, 578/21, 598/8.
hockedai, 336/20; hockeday, 609/22; hokeday, 494/3; hokkeday, 457/16.
hoge, 63/15.
hoke, cxxxix, 589/8.
hold: past tense helde, 211/9, 351/26; hilde, 141/7, 618/7; hylde, 170/28, 351/25.
hold, a field term, cxxxix.
holde, tenura, 177/22, 342/15, 343/14.
hold stille, retinere, 315/3, 466/10, 481/8.
hold vp, to keep in repair, 356/19, 491/27.
holder, a manorial tenant, 36/13.
holder, tenens, defendant in a lawsuit, 100/7, 173/26, 328/22; holders, 507/5, 592/3.
hole or sike, 269/15, 286/31; a legal formula: *see* helth.
hole, wholly, 351/29.
hole, cxxxix.
holeway, 557/19, 625/27.
holiday, 634/3.
holy, integre, wholly, a stock element in the tenure formula, 97/5, 300/13, 323/15; holli, 326/13; holly, 225/14.
holy love, panis benedicendus, 649/1.
holy oyle, 644/15, 646/2, 681/4.
homage, lviii, 42/5; homagis, 188/14, 317/9; frequently repeated in the manorial formula, 559/17; for his homage and service, a stock phrase in a grant of land, 248/13, 589/3; cp. homagis and seruyces, 313/25.
in his honde, a ceremony of affirmation, 334/13.
in honde, protection, *see* hande.
honeste, 228/9; honestees, 229/19.
honestly, 365/17, 463/25.
hoole, whole, 337/2.
hooli, wholly, 323/8.
hoolly, sacrosanctus, holy, 230/4.
hoppe and syng, 22/539.
hors and harnes, 78/24.
horsshone, 171/25.
hoth, oath, 649 *n.*
housebote, 317/23.
hovable, suitable, 509/18.
how-be-hyt, 25/7.
howselith, 1/4.
hundred, the court of a hundred and the obligation to attend it, 155/9, 652/16, 653/31, 656/8; hundredis, 277/30, 334/8, 665/4.
hundredepeny, 665/8, 670/16.
hundurd, 48/21.
hunting, 182/1; tithe of, 695.
hurne, 353 *n.*
hurtes, damages, 607/5.
husbondis, agricolae, 87/31.
hydage, 670/14.
hyde, 297/19, 299/14, 301/20, 612/1
hydys, 33/6.
hyerys, heirs, 210/23.
hyghnesse, 641/7.
hyȝe scoles, the, heaven, 19/461.

I-, past participial prefix, cxv.
I-know, possibly = enough, 536/7; possibly = now, 677/18.
ile, island, 255/4, 319/11.
imagininge, 334/14.
immynumentis, immunities, 681/15.
imparked, put into pound, 165/2.
impechyng, 266/19.
imperasse, empress, 168/19; imperas, 268/15.
impeticion, demand, 136/31, 266/6; impetission, 231/19.
impleted, 268/15, 439/31.
importune, *adj.*, 674/13.
importunysse, 466/12.
impressed, 343/16.
impression, 141/23.
impreynting, 140/4.
in the towne and withoute, 335/25, a legal formula: *see* burgh.
incharterid, 68/6.

inchis, pollices, 495/20.
inclosyng, fences, 544/3.
indenture, 332/3.
indowyd, 28/12.
infangetheyf, liv, 650/8; infangtheef, 652/16; infangetheef, 665/3; infangenthef, 653/29, 658/16; infangenthief, 656/7; infange(tie)thef, 535/23.
inland, 342/8, 343/4; inlonde, 334/3.
infirmarie, 64/11, 23.
inquyetyng, inquietatio, 266/7.
instaunce of, at the, 478/15.
intendaunte, attentive, 123/21.
interesse, 325/20.
seruice outewarde and inwarde, lxii, 202/2.
irregularite, 325/16.
itwene, 304/2 : *read* bitwene.
ivel, 582/14.

Janyvere, 52/31; Jenyvere, 93/16.
japes, 9/150.
jentyl, 22/544.
jorneing, 328/20.
journey, a day's work, 461/24.
joye, to enjoy, 93/27.
Juel, July, 314/6; Jule, 186/27, &c.
Juery, Judaismus, 456/32; Jurye, 222/29.
juges, 575/15; jugges, 323/25, 636/29.
juriors, jurati, 638/14; juryours, 401/19.
jurnayinge, itinerantes, 158/18; jurnaynge, 81/4; jurneyng, 159/28, 429/6.
Juyn, June, 452/25, 603/18.

kechon, kitchen, 422/9; kechyn, 189/8, &c.; kochyn, 521/8.
keper, custos, warden of an academical hall, 417/1.
knowe, hit is to be, sciendum est, 163/14, a stock phrase.
knowe, to discover, 632/2.
knowe, to acknowledge, 71/29, 562/2.
knowlech, recognoscere, to acknowledge, 8/134.
knowlech, recognitio, acknowledgement, 171/1, 407/7; knowlich, 72/5.
knowlechyng, recognitio, 410/18.
knyhthode, 320/23.
kyngis seruyce, 82/20; kyngys seruyce, 77/7, xxxiv, lxxiii.
kynnesman, gener, 375/19.

labouryng in their last, laborantes in extremis, 94/12.
lak, deficiency, 98/6, 314/38.
lakke, to fail to pay, 611/6.
lakke, to be deprived of, 676/23, 682/9.
lambemas, 637/10; lammasse, 602/13; lammesse, 20/465.
lande-mede, 304/22.
langabul, 140/16.
largeing, enlargement, 45/22.
largeness, largitas, bounty, 646/25; largenesse, 674/26.
lasse, less, 335/9, 350/12, &c.
lasse, to forsake, 11/202.
last, in extremis, 94/12.
lastage, a king's tax, 665/10; lestage, 670/19.
late, lately, 563/17.
late, allow, 5/43 : *see* lete.
lawdai, view of francpledge, 68/25; lawday, 173/11.
lawefulli, in due course of law, 325/5, 576/6.
lay to wedde, impignorare, to mortgage, 150/21.
layfe, laity, 644/5.
leche, medicus, 290/17.
ledith, induces, 1/7.
ledyng, 671/13.
lefe, permission, 148/28.
lefful, lawful, 175/28, 181/8, &c.; leful, 325/13, &c.; lefull, 126/38; 146/14, &c.
left, dimisit, leased, 606/10.
lefte, gave up, surrendered, 398/21.
lefte, omitted, 10/183 : past tense of leave.
lefte vp, lifted vp, built, 463/23 : *read* to [be] lefte vp : *see* lifte vp.
lefull, *see* lefful.
legatinis, 683/13.
leiyng, 575/36.
lekis, leagues, 260/26.
leman, amica, 535/7.
lenger, longer, 194/15, 485/24, &c.
lengest, 401/31; lengist, 262/2.
lengeth, length, 319/24; lengethe, 223/7; lengeþe, 335/12; lengyth, 224/24; lengh, 315/25.
lenton, Lent, 191/24, 355/24 : but also lente, 633/9.
lepars, heuenly, strivers to ascend to heaven, 19/457.
lese, to lose, 191/33 : *see* to gete and to lese.
lesnyng, diminution, 94/8; lessenynge, 336/16, 397/25.
lesse, 502/23 : *see* lasse.

lesse make, minuere, 30/5, 6.
lessynge, diminution, 230/8.
lest, least, 357/17; leste and most, 7/95.
lestage, *see* lastage.
lesues, pascua, xciv, 51/21, 56/28, 58/13, 188/18, 191/19, 347/1, 604/1.
let, *see* lette.
let, dimittere: past tense lete, dimisit, gave up, 95/14, 197/25, 246/13: frequent in conveyance formula.
lete, to lease, 149/25: past tense lette to ferme, 86/14.
lete, allow, 5/49: *see* late.
lete make, allowed to be made, 622/28.
lette, to hinder, 1/11, 2/15, 36/8, 369/36; to be let, 34/7; to be lette, 315/35; the partie that is I-lette, 370/2.
lette, hindrance, 370/3.
lettyng, hindrance, 146/15, 183/14.
letyng, dimissio, conveyance of property, 246/29, 435/19.
leue of, to leave off, 47/29.
leuer, to have lever, malle, 241/30.
leuey, levare, to exact payment of, especially of rent, 176/3.
levyed, 414/19, 491/14, &c.; leueyid, 609/25.
levey, to make, to pay a fine in the king's court on completion of sale of property, 268/25; levyed, 488/11; leueyid, 79/2.
leuy, to build, 485/28.
leuy, to cause; leuied, 638/7.
leuyd, lived, 139/14, 233/4.
leuyng, omitting, 11/198.
leuyng, bequest, 148/6, 545/3.
lewde, ignorant, 10/184.
lewde, boorish, 22/552.
a lewde man, laicus, 2/32.
ley to plegge, impignorare, to mortgage, 286/31.
leyng, laying, 139/10.
liberteis, 270/7, &c.; libertees, 269/27, &c.
lien, jacentes, lying, 301/12.
lieth to, adjacet, 301/10.
in lifelode, for term of his life, 28/18.
lifte vp, to build, 485/20; *see* lefte vp.
likyth, *vb. impers.*, 181/25.
limityng, limites, 270/5.
liyng to, liyng therto, adjacens, 50/31, 58/25, 299/31, 282/13.
liyng and arisyng, 575/28, 579/1; liyng and vprisynge, 578/20, 581/9; lying and risyng, 576/10, 580/7, technical phrases for residing at a place.
loke, aspicere, to inspect, 283/7.
lokes, locks (on a river), 379/25.
long, pertinere, to belong, 209/11, 12: occurs *passim*: longyng, belonging, 33/9, &c.
longe away, to alienate, 416/1.
lordeshippe, 632/21, 33.
losed, set free, 383/7: *see* louse.
lot, sors, the casting of lots, li, 230/37, 38; lotte, 271/20, 272/22, 294/18, 319/8, 396/26.
lotte, a portion of meadow as assigned by lot, 269/9, 10, 271/20, 298/6.
louse, loose, exempt from charges, 128/14; lowse, 168/19, 535/2: *see* losed.
lowse, to absolve, 48/13.
lowsid persones, 680/25: either emancipated or widowed.
lowsy thorn, 369/9.
lust, free choice, 683/9; luste, 325/14.
lust, to choose: lustythe, 646/9; lustid, 616/18.
lusty, cheerful, 14/296.
lybertees, 590/3.
lyches, wakes, 2/24.
lyflod, livelihood, 25/24.
lyhte, 609/26.
lying, *see* liyng.
lyke, equally, 7/98.
lykyth, 644/21.
lymytes, boundary-marks, 575/21.
lynch, 537/4, cxii.
lynnen, lina, 86/22.
lynnen-draper, 116/34.
lyueray, 23/575.
lyverey, 522/10.

machynacion, 629/1.
mainour, 650 *n.*
maister, 273/16.
make, to cause, 1/7, 88/1; made, caused, 95/9, 101/13, 186/26.
make, to put in repair, 471/8.
make agayne, *vb.*, 469/5.
make hey, to, 318/25, 455/25.
makyng, fabrica, 444/6.
makyng more, augmentation, 35/9.
malapertly, 213/10.
man, feudal subject, 334/8, 342/4, 343/2, 31.
maner, manner, 370/18, 458/19, 659/2 and *passim*; maners, 674/27.
maner, manerium, manor, 87/1 and *passim*.

mansion, chief house on a holding, 28/28, 458/7; mansyon, 573/10.
mansure, 139/18.
many a folde, manifold, 20/468.
marchall, 336/26.
marchith, 364/22.
mark, the coin, cxxiv.
marke, a boundary-stone or post, 369/15; markes, 239/17, 575/21; markys, 47/18.
marriage, 692; fre marriage, 688.
marry, to give in marriage, 356/8, 358/11.
Martyn masse, 499/26.
maryse, marshes, 660/26.
mase, maze, 14/287.
massys, as works of merit, 182/10.
matyns, as works of merit, 182/10.
maundement, mandatum, 46/2; maundement, 136/2, and often.
maye, hawthorn-blossom, 17/382.
mayere, 372/18.
maystur, 637/4.
mean, means, 304/3; mene, 229/6, 18.
mede feld, praterium, 298/3, 301/32.
medewe, 571/3; medw, 571/16, 572/6.
in medewys and in pasturys, 217/26; in medewys and pasturis, 339/6; in mede and pasture, 82/17; medis, fedyngis, pastures, 605/12; in medis, feldis, pastures, 617/19, and other variants of the formula, lx.
med-lyng, 114/5, in error for 'mede lying'.
medys, 285/20.
meene, medius, feudal intermediary, 170/30; mene, 157/22, &c.
meke, complaisant, 10/182.
memorye, 627/25.
men, manorial tenants, 633/11.
mendyng, repairs, 416/3.
mene, *see* mean, meene.
menglyd corne, 231/15.
mercemente, mulct, 69/16; mercementes, 608/18.
mercere, 531/3.
mercery, 412/7.
mervaile, 471/6.
mese, messuagium, 33/7, and *passim*; mesys, 399/9.
metyng, amensuratio, 357/15.
mevable and unmevable, goods, 51/33, 394/11, &c., a frequent formula.
meuynge, instigation, 43/10, 630/17.
meuyngis, law-suits, 367/11.
meyny, 182/22.
midel Lenton Sunday, 191/24.
miht, might, 68/1, 137/24, &c.
minchon, monialis, nun, 202/12; 629/11; the less usual spelling: *see* mynchon.
mo, 588/18.
moder, modir, 514/16, 517/21, &c.; modyr, 27/18; moodur, 631/14; modres, 604/16.
modur church, 632/10.
modyr tongue, 25/15.
monasterij = church, 134/21, 23.
monycion, 583/6.
moo, 572/22, 23.
moost, utmost, 21/510.
more, moor, 312/11, 326/24, cxli.
more, larger, 514/2; so 'the more Tywe', 559/5.
more and lesse, of tithe, 91/29, 230/27, &c.; more and lasse, 350/12.
more sure, 370/21.
morne, crastinum, 176/8.
mortall pepull, mortall peple, mortales, 321/12, 474/16, &c.
mortayse, settle in mortmain, 239/2; morteyse, 451/rubric of no. 613.
morte-mayne, 186/7, 451/5.
moste and leste, 24/612.
mot, *see* mow.
mow, posse, may, to be able, 2/17, 45/8; mowe, 1/25, 20/481, 45/27, 177/10, 340/11, 358/23, 369/32, 565/20; past tense mot, 7/88, mote, 12/234, 252.
mow, to cut hay, 612/15; mowe, 573/11; mowynge, 216/12.
mowe, to reap corn, 318/25, 455/25; mowyng, 203/7.
mower, messor, reaper, 318/12.
much, *adv.*, very, 26/11.
munymentys, 25/26.
murther, a legal liability, 653/32, 656/10, 665/5.
mydsomer, applied sense, 18/428.
myȝht, 145/15; myght, 241/4, 445/15, &c.
mynchen, monialis, 572/3.
mynchon, monialis, 33/5, 239/1, 593/2, 658/12, a very frequent spelling.
mynchyn, monialis, 26/27, 43/9, 645/3, also a frequent spelling,
mynd, to have of, to remember, 24/604.
mynde, remembrance, 370/19; 605/22.
mynde, out of, forgotten, 520/11.
mynded, above-mentioned, 77/13, 424/1.

mynded, remembered, 472/3, 580/1.
myndyng, remembrance, 682/23.
mynsters, ministri, 510/23.
mynstyrsse, 644/13 : *read* or ony othyr mynystres.
mynumentis, 594/28.
mynute, 580/21.
mynysters, ministri, 510/23.
mynystre, to administer, 88/7.
mysis, outlay, 88/10.
mysse-case, 416/4.
myst, applied sense, 21/515.
mysweyed, ? mis-swayed, or mis-weighed, 9/157.
mytigacion, 15/335.
myttes, mittae, 664/11 ; myttis, 669/25.

name of, by, ratione, 305/17.
nameliche, 64/10, 468/4, 633/25 ; namelych, 461/4.
namely, 462/18.
nathelesse, 88/9 ; natheles, 186/9.
natif, nativus, 559/10, 22 ; 567/13 ; natifes, 560/12 ; natifis, 559/28 ; natifs, 659/19.
natwithstondynge, 507/19.
naught, nihilum, 488/20, 561/33.
ne, nor, 27/20, 283/9, 493/5 : duplicate negative.
ne . . . ne . . ., 398/11 : *see* neither, nother.
necessari, *subst.*, 612/14.
nede, necessity, 94/80.
nede, use, 176/4.
nede, needed, 36/15, 486/5, 494/10.
nede to, to have, to require help from, 16/350.
negbores, 466/31.
neither, *see* ne, nother.
neither . . . ne . . ., 593/9.
neither . . . neither . . . nor . . ., 53/8, 9.
neither . . . nor . . ., 594/3, 595/11.
neither . . . nor . . . nor . . ., 349/3.
neme, to take, especially in distraint, 37/20, 120/24, 464/1 : *see* nyme.
nerrer, nearer, given preference, 467/33.
nevew, 406/21.
neyburs, 45/16.
nigromancy, 1/15.
nih, 620/22 ; nihe, 613/23.
no . . . ne . . ., 596/8 : double negative.
noiinge, annoying, injury, 637/30, 638/7 ; noiyng, 239/14.
noise of iugement, strepitus judicii, 325/14, a standing phrase : *see* noyse.
non odyr, 27/20.
none, no, 493/5, 645/3.
nonys, 575/13.
norissh, 514/20.
norisshyng, norisshinge, nutrimenta, sucklings (used collectively), 575/25, 576/5, 633/18, 680/22.
norysshyd, nurtured, 78/29.
notarye, notarial, 231/22.
nother, *see* ne, neither.
nother . . . ne . . ., 211/30, 359/1, 369/29, 445/19, &c.
noþer . . . ne . . ., 177/9, 505/23, 638/19.
nother . . . ne . . . ne . . ., 199/7, 440/3.
noþer . . . ne . . . ne . . ., 610/7.
nother . . . ne . . . nother . . . ne, 540/24.
nother . . . nor . . ., 263/10.
nother . . . nor . . . ne . . ., 480/13.
nother . . . nother . . ., 42/8, 262/20, 288/20.
nother . . . nother . . . nother, 292/25, 406/14, 528/8 ; very common.
nother . . . nother . . . nother . . . ne . . ., 540/24.
notwithstondyng, 512/9.
nouale, 47/36 ; noualle, novalia, 680/21.
nouall tithis, 633/19.
nowblewoman, 147/20.
nowel, to sing, 13/270 ; 24/609.
nowther, neither, 216/13.
noyse, strepitus, 367/24 : *see* noise.
nye, 458/21.
nyhe, 216/3, 320/17.
nyme, to take, especially in distraint, 37/4, 145/26, 462/14, &c. : *see* nime.
nyne parties, the, 683/5.

obite, xxviii, 604/11.
obligacion, bond, 596/14.
obligacion, lettres of, 266/16.
obligatories, 266/3.
obtempered, 343/28.
occasion, to give, to cause annoyance, 212/2.
occasioned, inconvenienced, 186/23, 311/8, &c.
occasionally, 313/30.
occupie, to take possession of, 461/1.
occupy, to keep at work, 11/200.
odur, 572/7 ; odyr, 572/14.
of the north parte, 301/16 ; of þe weste side, 66/2.
of lengyth, in length, 45/21.
of xviij. yere, 37/17, = for.
of, often, 10/192 : *read* of[t].

of, to ordeyn, 471/12, = concerning.
oft, debere, ought, 139/24; past tense oftyd, debebant, 144/23; ofted, 282/4.
ofte saide, 407/25, 477/9.
oftyntyme, 25/12.
ogayn keston, 320/19.
on, one, 169/21, 637/3.
on, leyde, 7/104, = in.
on lyue, alive, 24/603.
onlich, 2/13.
oon, one, 144/5, 172/29.
open notary, public, 588/18; opyn, 587/19.
openyng, publication, 400/29.
opteyne, 380/18.
or, before, 30/9, 394/7, 15.
order, holy orders, 2/31.
ordinarie, possessed in virtue of his office, 167/15.
ordinaryes, accustomed officials, 2/20.
originall, *adj.*, 513/rubric of no. 688; origynall, 558/21.
orisons, as works of merit, 100/19, 605/26.
ost, protection, 16/343.
other, either of two, 37/18, 369/36.
other, or, 517/15.
other . . . other . . ., either . . . or . . ., 94/12, 155/7; oþer . . . oþer, 178/24.
other . . . or . . ., 154/29.
ought, debebat, past tense of *to owe*, 342/15, 343/13, 388/1, 409/22.
oune, suus, own, 176/4.
ouris, horae, 633/10.
out, *adj.*, outermost, 459/13.
outfangetheyf, 650/9; outfangenthief, 658/16.
out-take, oute-take, exceptis, being taken out, 86/22, 150/23, 181/27, 215/6, 302/28: a stock rendering of the abl. absol. of the Latin.
outward seruice, lxiii, 223/17.
overall, ubique, ubicunque, in conveyance formula, 62/3, 114/8, 273/10, &c.
over-gilte, 590/5.
overlive, to outlive, 466/24, 485/20, 543/30, &c.
over-more, insuper, 242/35.
ovyn, furnum, 495/5.
owe, debere, 367/6: *see* oft.
owe, past tense ought, *q.v.*; owed, 421/27; owid, 632/9; owyd, 172/10; owht, 218/7.
owne, 156/25.
owrys, horae, as works of merit, 182/10.
owte-take, 511/3.
owyng, debita, due, 192/29.
oxehous, 318/11.
oyle of seke folke, oleum infirmorum, 644/15, 646/2.

pagent, pagina, 204/29; pagyne, 629/2, 683/25.
palfray, 281/12.
pannage, liv, 82/18, 181/11, 239/20.
parcels, in separate pieces, 558/20.
parchement maker, 480/8; parchemynt-maker, 479/3.
parelle, peril, 2/4.
parisshe ryht, 324/7; ryht of parisshe, 324/5.
parisshens, parochiani, 93/28, 365/6; parissions, 324/5, 365/14; parisshyns, 94/29.
parke, cattle-pound, 164/33; hunting-ground, 671/20.
parkes, obligation to repair fences of king's parks, 665/6; parkis, 670/15.
parsonage, rectoria, 86/22.
part, party: the part in iuggement, 48/9; the parte lettyng, 370/1.
partes, parties, 635/31.
of the one parte . . . of the other partie, 432/2.
in parte or in all, 492/24, 510/21.
partie, party, part; very common: for the more party, 25/21; on that othyr party of the same town, 29/15; on the south partye, 52/16.
of the one partie . . . of the other parte, 393/24, 452/13.
of the on party . . . of the oþer partye, 319/17, 606/7; very common.
two parties, two-thirds, 164/13.
in partie or in alle, 597/6.
particle, 255/3; 292/22.
partid charter, indentures, 357/4.
partike, pertica, 599/15.
partinge, ? division, 624/27.
party, *see supra.*
partyners, partners, 89/21, 388/4.
pass, to die, 30/9; pass hens, 24/609.
passage, toll on goods passing through a manor, 659/12, 665/9, 670/18.
paths, *see* ways.
payne, poena, penalty, 4/2, 370/15, 651/5; payn, 416/14: *see* peyne.
in peace, quiete, 294/27: in the manorial formula.
peiuns, pigeons, 350/20.
peletere, 385/14.
pensionary, subject to a money-charge, 587/28.

peny, 665/7, 8.
penyes, money, 259/30, lxx; penyis, 323/10.
penyworth, 501/14, 559/4.
pepir, xliii, 248/23, 434/29.
peple, 305/7; pepul, 645/16; peple mortall, 509/13.
peraventure, 475/15.
perch, rood, 601/1.
perel, 4/2.
peremptorie, 89/13.
permutacion, exchange, 588/8.
perquisitis, personal property, especially of serfs and so in the manorial formula, 489/2, 559/14.
pertenaunce, 31/5; perteynavnce, 572/7; pertinens, 130/13; pertynens, 80/17; pertinentis, 33/9; purtinaunce, 573/8; purtynauns, 574/11.
peticion, 637/14.
peyne, poena, penalty, 144/25, 597/3, &c.: *see* payne.
pitance, 190/14; pitaunce, 190/8, 627/25: *see* pytaunce.
place of londe, a, 177/3.
place, site, 30/19.
place, house and its site, 51/19.
placebo, 97/23.
plainer, querens, plaintiff, 330/13, 635/5; plaine[r], 136/9; playner, 159/30; pleyner, 101/1.
plaintes, 616/9: *see* playntys.
plancherin, 402/19, 403/20.
playn conscience, 230/2.
playne, to complain, 471/10; playnyd, 46/6, 170/29.
playnt, suit at law, 632/7.
playntis, playntys, as a responsibility to feudal superior, come in the privileges formula, 571/10; a similar responsibility to the king, 653/33; 665/4.
playntyf, 192/26.
playnynge, querens, plaintiff, 158/20, 170/25, 575/1, &c.
in playnys, in the manorial formula, 217/26, 349/24; in pleyne, 156/15.
plea, suit at law; plee, 180/21, 507/1, 644/13; pleis, 351/9; pleis, pleys, constituted a responsibility to feudal superiors, and so are mentioned in the privileges formula, 242/5; and a responsibility to the king, 653/31, 656/9, 665/4.
plee, to bring into, 181/1, 644/14.
plee, to put into, 672/3.
plee, to sue at law: they shold not be pleyd, 660/14.
pleid, to be, *verb impersonal*, tried at law, 328/23, 635/10; pleyd, to be, 172/11; I-pleyed, to be, 133/7; I-pleid, to be, 159/3.
plegge, to mortgage, 455/32.
pleggis, sureties, 598/7.
plenarly, 255/27, 488/17.
pleted, sued at law, 121/1.
pletid, to be, *verb impersonal*, 330/17.
pletyng, lawsuit, 2/16.
pleyne, *see* playnys.
pleyner, *see* plainer.
plight, plighted, 517/17; plyht, 170/10.
plommer, 309/9.
plough-men, manorial tenants, 423/1.
plough oxen, 208/5; plough bestis, 466/9.
plough lond, carucata terre, cxxiv, 265/12, 268/13; plowlonde, 203/5; plowhlonde, 622/18.
pondis, vivaria, fishponds, in the manorial formula, lxi, 605/12, 660/26.
pontage: *see* pountage.
popehode, papatus, 136/19, 370/29, 578/10.
possessioners, 89/12.
poundeworth of lond, 184/7, 655/17.
pountage, a tax on goods passing over a bridge, in the privileges formula, 659/12, 665/10, 670/18.
power, poor, 231/13.
powrenesse, poverty, 71/27.
poyne, to put into pound, 216/13.
prayeris, as works of merit, 206/25; praiers, 604/17; prayours, 31/4, 635/22.
prebende, 342/5, 344/1.
prebendall chirche, 587/21.
prefixid, 612/21.
promysed, 367/27: *read* premysed = aforesaid.
premysses, matters already stated, 565/10.
preue, to prove, 48/1, 231/16.
preuynge, 48/10.
preynt, imprint, 175/16: *see* prynte.
prinspall, 337/1.
printinge, impression, 623/26.
procuracie, letters of attorney, 123/21.
procuracy, procurations, fees due by a parish church to the archdeacon, 87/19.
proctur, legal representative, 325/22; procutour, 139/13; procutur, 649/29; procuretour, 470/12.

progenie, 327/19.
progenytours, 603/32, 605/11; progeniturys, 627/12.
promit, to promise: promytted, 367/19; promyttyng, 366/22.
prophite, profit, 233/14.
pronuncinge, verdict, 167/23.
propir, 579/3; propur, 1/5.
prouentis, profits, 683/4, 7.
prouysion, adjudication, 578/29.
prouisor, superintendent, 674/5.
pryce, to sette litul, 22/537.
pryncipally, 489/23.
prynte, impressio, 295/15: *see* preynt.
pryntynge, impressio, 223/24, 410/15.
publicaccion, 400/29; publisshyng, 401/12.
purchas, to acquire, 28/16; purchased, 658/10.
purchesynge, obtaining, 78/25.
purely, 147/3, in the conveyance formula.
purposyd, stated formally, 47/14.
purveye, to procure, 588/9.
puruyid, appointed, 79/2.
put, ? pit, 277/15.
pyne, suffering, 5/35, 21/498.
pytaunce, the usual spelling, xxxii, 99/20, 122/20, 189/7, 267/8, 273/2, 307/6, 363/13, 471/19, 489/5, 503/29, 521/5, 604/12, 605/22: *see* pitance.

quarenten, 541/19, 542/29.
quarel, a lawsuit, cxxv, 623/22, 632/7; as an obligation to a feudal superior occurs in the privileges formula; quarell, 571/10; quarels, 242/5, 425/20, 457/14; quareles, 627/23; querelis, 600/2; querels, 557/2; querele, 495/9; also an obligation to the king: quarels, 652/17, 653/33.
quarel, legal title, 169/13.
quarter, quarry, 335/10.
quarteron, 435/3.
quere, chancel, 609/26.
queste, legacy, 389/19; questis, 575/5.
quethyngis, bequeathings, 577/30.
quietans, acquittance, 80/1.
quiete clayme, quitclaim, 81/18, 222/27; quyte-clayme, 263/23.
quietid-claymyd, 222/18.
quietinges, freedoms, privileges, 631/22.
quyettisly, quietly, 535/25.
quyetyliest, quietliest, 658/18.
quite, quit, exempt, 181/11; quyte, 670/17.
quiteclaimid, 327/17.
quytaunce, acquittance, 265/32.
quyte-clayme, to quitclaim, 263/13.
quyte claymyng, 494/30.

ranne in, incurred, 315/6.
ratefiyng, 580/31.
rauysshynge, 681/31.
real, royal, 31/2; riall, 129/19: *see* ryall.
reame, realm, 399/1.
rebelte, rebelliousness, 2/1.
receiue, 202/17, 622/21: but usually resceiue: receyuyd, 627/27.
receivyng, payment, 266/18.
receyuowrs, 25/18.
reclaime, *subst.*, 619/17; reclayme, 628/13.
reclamacion, 599/23.
reclaymyng, 416/19.
recluse, 151/26, 152/5.
recognicion, recognycion, payment on conclusion of a bargain, 334/10, 382/15, 385/24, 391/5.
recognicion, recognycion, judicial investigation, 638/12; formal statement in such an investigation, 598/9.
recognytours, persons required to conduct an investigation, 598/6.
reconisaunces, 623/18.
reconysaunce, conveyance, 81/18.
recufer, 237/21.
redempcions, 603/32, 605/11.
redisseiseninge, 332/30.
refeffement, 175/25.
reformyd, made again, 79/27, 594/2.
reformyng, re-making, 594/25.
region, 5/48.
regular lyf, conventual, 674/3, 677/4.
rehersed, 191/28.
reine, reign, 630/26.
re-intres, 45/25.
relef, relefe, relevium, lix, 42/6; resonable relef, 615/25, 618/2, 626/15, constantly repeated in the manorial formula; relefes, 300/7; relefis, 559/18, 605/10; relefys, 226/2, 627/11; releves, 628/16.
reles, release, 81/18, 608/21.
relicte, relicta, widow, 439/rubric of no. 596, 503/17, 513/9.
religion, conventual life, 155/8, 228/19, 365/13, 394/5, 517/14, 674/9, 680/30, 683/25.
religious, religiosi, i.e. regular clergy, 456/33.

religious folke, 633/25.
religious hows, 646/22.
religious ladyes, 441/1.
religious men, 513/5.
religious pepul, 622/12, 647/16, 674/5.
religious women, 416/27, 507/3.
religiosnys, conventual life, 229/19.
remayn, 387/1.
reme, realm, 26/6, 622/11.
remedy of law, 576/2.
remission, surrender of property, 100/17, in formula; remyssion, 450/27.
remytted, surrendered, 100/14, 584/21.
renneth, currit, 223/18: *see* rynne.
rents, lvii, constantly repeated in the manorial formula: rentis, 603/31, 605/9.
renunce, *vb. trans.*, 594/6.
renunce-to, to, 575/39.
renunsyd, *vb. neuter*, 574/16.
reparacion, 485/25.
repe, to reap corn, 464/29, 612/13.
replicasion, 167/11.
resceive, 35/14, 379/2, usual spelling; resceyved, 465/6.
rescu, forcible re-taking of goods distrained, 332/27.
reseyue, receive, 175/31.
resinid, 202/10; resininge, 202/19.
respites of deliberation, 167/11.
in rest, quiete, 80/23, 211/13: in conveyance formula.
restfully, quiete, 214/7, 340/14, 570/15: in conveyance formula.
restyd, was concluded, 181/4.
reteyne, to continue to hold, 200/5.
reteynyng, withholding, 455/28.
reuerences, 343/28.
reuersions, lix, 316/25, 559/20: constantly repeated in manorial formula.
reuoke, revocare, 629/1; reuokyd-againe, 63/8.
rewarde, some forest due, 671/16.
rewarde, ? computation, 369/21.
rewarde, to give as payment, 12/240.
rewle, regula, 674/21, 676/5.
riall, *subst.*, king's service, 615/31.
riall service, regale servicium, lxiii, 129/19.
riall composicion, realis, i.e. firm and sure, 577/6, 33, 579/26.
ridyng, obligation to attend the court of a 'riding', 155/10.
rigge, 625/16.
rightis, duties, dues, 575/30; parochial rightis, 578/22.
riparies, ripariae, 559/17, 564/15.
riȝt as, exactly as, 3/35.
rode tre, the cross, 5/46.
roll, to enroll, 244/14.
roddys, roods, quarter-acres, 546/7.
roddys, rods, withies, 139/17.
rowe, on a, 8/407.
run in, incurrere, 315/6.
ruynowse, 416/4, 479/26.
ryal, ryall, regalis, 18/417, 154/30, 264/22, &c.: *see* real.
rybawdry, 2/25.
ryght as a lyn, 21/523.
rynne, currere, 295/5, 372/2; rynneth, 314/13.
rynnyng, of money, current, 370/5.

saaf, *adj.*, secure, 102/14; sauf, 576/9.
saaf, *adv.*, except, 126/15.
sac, *see* soc.
sad, apparently = ratum, said, definitely settled: sure and sad, 64/5; saide and sure forever, 366/24; I-said and ferme or sure, 367/21; sadly and quyetly, securely, 387/4.
sad, trusty, good men and sadde, 98/1; sadde counseil of sustres, 676/11, 681/26.
sadler, 503/2.
sadly, *see under* sad.
saide, *see under* sad.
salte, salina, salt-pit, 135/12.
salyne, salina, 664/12.
satisflyng, giving of satisfaction, 676/23.
sauf, except, 342/15, 343/13.
sauf, *adj.*, *see* saaf.
sauyng, reserving, 102/16, 181/36.
saute, assault, 11/203.
save, safely, 408/31.
save harmelesse, to guarantee against all future claims, 126/11.
sawtry, psaltery, 23/565.
schep, sheep, 127/26; schip, 127/22; schype, 127/20.
scholde, 125/23: usual spelling sholde.
science, knowledge, 11/206.
scottis, certain dues to the king, 665/5, 670/14.
scribe, 535/20.
scrophis, scrophae, grass strips, 279/9, 291/27, 292/15: explained in 290/27 as 'diches', i.e. the grass growing on the banks of ditches; Latin *scrobes*, ditch.
scuage, scutagium, xxxiv, lviii, 206/28, 223/18, 295/3; occurs in the

manorial formula, because apportioned among the tenants: scuagis, 559/17, 627/12; scutagis, 604/1; and among the privileges granted by kings = scuage, 656/9, 665/15; scuagis, 653/32.
scuse, 650 *n.*, a manorial tax, conceivably 'scuage'.
seche, to seek, 2/5.
seculer habite, i. e. of the secular clergy, 397/15.
secular seruice, i. e. manorial, &c., as opposed to tithe, 64/15, 269/19; in formula: **secular sewtes,** manorial, &c., obligations, 147/10; in formula.
seelinge, seal, 323/18.
sege, shrine, 16/362.
sei, to say, 136/15, 137/6, &c.
seisyned, put in formal possession, 661/14.
seisynynge, 565/5.
seisyng, seisina, 560/6.
as well in sekenes as in helþe, 601/7, 615/17, 617/24: a formula, *see* sikenesse.
sekirnes, sureness, 329/17.
selde, ground-floor room, 414/5, 495/19; seldes, 499/1; seldis, 96/14.
sell, *vb.*, forms:—selle, 243/26; sille, 137/25, 615/17; sylle, 223/12, 601/6; in conveyance formula.
sellyng, vendicio, 289/1; syllynge, 195/18.
seem, to think: as he semyth best, 581/24; as they semed best, 88/8.
seem, *vb. impers.*: as hyt semyth to hem most best, 181/26.
seem, *vb. neuter*: þei semid to have had, 323/29.
sentence, meaning, 25/26, 28/1, 146/23, &c.
sentencialli, according to the meaning, 616/5.
sentencially, by way of formal judgement, 48/14.
sentencyosly, sentence by sentence, 26/4.
sentens, judgement, 30/4, 48/12.
sequele, children and dependents of bond-tenants, cxxv, 129/10, 188/16, 364/7; sequeles, 563/1; sequelis, 627/9.
ser, dominus, of a clergyman, 563/2; sers, 86/14.
serge, candle, 605/25; sergis, 94/35, 365/16.
seruatorye, servatorium, 242/25, 301/10, lxii.
seruyce, 559/20; in the manorial formula. *See* inwarde, kyngis, outward, seculer, vtwarde.
sesed, ceased, 456/22.
sesynyng, seisina, formal possession, 207/10.
sette, to plant, 13/274.
sette to, appended, 51/11.
settynge to, appending, 34/10.
seute of grindinge, obligation to have grain ground at the manorial mill, lvi, 138/3; seutis (of a mill), 137/8; sute of myllys, 206/28: *see* sewtes.
seutes, to a hundred-court, 635/7, 15: *see* sutes.
severally, separation, 347/26.
seuerell, private, 401/23.
sewe, to follow (footsteps), 23/583; to follow up (a lawsuit), 597/29.
sewerte, 336/22.
sewters, 206/2.
sewtes, obligations to attend manorial courts, lxi, 143/33; sewtis, 559/9.
sey, to tell, 26/13.
seylons, 215/25.
seyne, synodus, meeting of clergy of an archdeaconry, 582/3, 649/23, 681/20; seynys, 644/17, 646/5.
seysonne, to give formal possession, 135/1.
seythe, *vb. impers.*, dicitur, 236/30.
shelynge worthe, solidata, 158/5.
shelyngys, solidi, 213/2.
shent, 24/588.
shephouse, 320/13.
sher = shire, 637/4; sheres, 137/23.
shere thursdai, 613/9.
shereue, 337/34, 608/25; sherefis, 651/23.
shevis, 351/27; sheuys, 232/6.
shillyngworth, solidata, 87/26, 300/9, 566/28.
shire, meeting of the sheriff's court for a county, 70/9, 249/15, 258/20; in the privileges formula, obligation to attend such courts, 334/8, 653/31, 656/8; shires, 665/3; sutes of shire, 155/9; sutis of shires, 277/30; *see* shyre.
shoppe, 504/24, 511/10.
shoyng, shoes, 394/2.
shreue, 175/35, 637/31; shreves, 311/10.
shreuehode, 70/10.
shrew, malice, 629/2.
shrewde, malicious, 10/186.
shrewdeli, maliciously, 324/31.
shrewdnes, malice, 646/18.
shrifte of mowth, 8/122.

shul, 206/5, 649/25; **shulle**, 646/5.
shyre, sheriff's court, 169/20: sewte of courtes of shyrys, 173/11: *see* shire.
shyryf, 654/5.
sight, visus, supervision: after the sight of, 260/1; by the sight of, 416/24; syht, 34/5.
sight, visus franci plegii, 598/1.
sike, sick, 190/16.
both in sikenesse and in helthe, 449/14; in sikenes or in helthe, 556/28: a constantly recurring legal formula: *see* helthe.
sine, signum, a notary's mark, 71/8; syne, 231/22.
sinid, signed, 71/7.
sir, dominus, of a clergyman, 86/9; sires, 559/12; siris, 325/29; syre, 139/3: *see* ser.
sithe, since, 575/15, 20.
sithis, special occasions, 94/30.
sittyng, right to seats in church, 93/29.
skille of, by, ratione, 268/12, 313/30.
sleuth, sloth, 9/166.
slewthynge, slothfulness, 78/20.
sleyng of tonge, 9/158.
soc and sak, sok and sak, sok and sake, soke and sak, soke and sake, in the privileges formula, 535/23, 650/8, 652/16, 653/29, 656/6, 658/15.
soca, socage, 658/9.
socour, succour, 15/325.
socour, 10/185; in error for some word expressing suffering, e. g. dolour.
sodekon, subdiaconus, 471/2.
sofred, suffered, 176/6.
solar, second-story room, 395/6, 508/23, &c.; soler, 318/12, 495/21, &c.
sole, unmarried, 199/3.
solempnyere, 489/35.
somon, to summon, 598/2.
somonycions, 598/3.
sonde, a field term, 556/23, 593/6.
sonis, sons, 630/10.
sonne side, the, ? south, 553/33.
soonde, sound (of preaching), 15/326.
soreli, *adv.*, so as to cause sorrow, 633/26.
sortis, sortes, lots, 290/26.
sothly, indeed, 585/19.
sowle, 2/25, 322/20; sowles, 535/17; sowlis, 230/4; sowlys, 627/27.
sownded lute, 23/569.
sowre, moulting for first time, 259/6; sowryng, 256/23; sowring, 257/25.
sowyng, 203/7.
space, time in which to repent, 18/410.
speche, loquela, law-plea, 157/16.
spede, to be of advantage, 181/26, 581/18.
spedefull, 576/4.
sperehawke, 256/23, 257/25, 259/6.
spices, evil pleasures, 9/167.
spores, spurs, xlv, 241/30, 300/16; sporis, 624/9; sporres, 590/5; sporys, 339/24.
sporier, 511/9.
sprotte, 557/32.
sprynge, to grow up quickly, 24/597.
spyce, pleasure, 21/518, 519: cp. spices.
spylle, to come to harm, 6/80.
stabiliche, 47/5.
stalle, 412/4, 413/27, 414/5.
stallage, certain duties on goods, in the privileges formula, 665/10; 670/18, (*read* [s]tallage).
state, condition, 415/19, 611/1; constantly repeated in repairs formula.
state, welfare, 535/18.
state, legal right, 613/3,
statis, officials, 659/17, 670/30.
stede, stead, 354/26.
stede, legal powers, 72/13.
stede, ? portion, 458/11.
stede of, to keep the, to act as deputy of, 131/9, 132/15.
stede of, to be set in the stede of, to act as legal representative of, 170/26.
stedfastly, securely, 343/16.
stedfastnesse, 343/29.
sterlyngis, 119/3, 375/19.
steryng, monicio, 583/23.
stew, vivarium, fishpond, lxi, 151/23; stewys, 671/21, 672/15; in the manorial formula, stewes, 559/16; stewis, 665/1; stewys, 564/15; in the privileges formula, obligation to repair the banks of the king's fishponds, stywys, 665/6.
steysh, 356 *n.*
stied, ascended, 7/108: *see* stye.
stille, to hold, to withhold, 88/3.
stiward, 336/26.
stobill, 544/6.
stole, robe, 17/388.
stone, stedfast as any, 22/533.
stony, built of stone, 463/16.
strate, 551/15; strete, 546/19.
streight, strict, 676/27; streighter, 680/29.
strecch, to lie in length, *vb. neuter*, 297/18.

strecch hitself, se extendere, *vb. reflex.*, 301/19.
strecchyng, extensio, 357/15.
stremys, gurgites, 401/26.
strengthe, support by full muster, 206/3.
strengthe, confirmation, 95/9.
strength, roborare, corroborare, to strengthen : strengthed, 104/30; strengthid, 63/8; strenghyd, 29/29.
streyne, to distrain, 506/18.
strife, a contention, suit-at-law :— strif, 365/3; strife, 632/2; stryf, 192/22; stryfe, 350/15; stryfys, 351/10; stryves, 507/15.
stryvyng, open strife, 2/16.
styd, stead, 81/7 : *see* stede.
stye, to ascend, 4/20; styȝe, 20/481; stied, 7/108.
stywe, 214/11, ? fishpond.
stywys, *see* stew.
subdeken, 3/6.
subiectes, dependents, 1/21.
subsidie, dower, 394/7.
sueth, follows, 644/6.
suerte, 507/29.
suffrages, prayers as works of merit, 182/10, 206/25; suffragijs, 31/4; suffragis, 604/17.
suffraunce, permissio, 311/16, 312/5, 587/1.
suggestion, 400/25.
summage, a *corvée* work for the king, 665/7, 670/15.
summys, pack-loads, 424/2.
sure, to pledge : suryd his trowthe, 170/8; sured their trouth, 394/19.
sure, ratum, finally settled, 276/1; sure and stable, ratum et stabile, 296/2; stable and sure, 184/13.
surenes, 182/14; surenesse, 192/3, 481/26.
surete, 166/23.
surrepcion, surreptio, theft, 676/9, 681/24.
suspended, left off, 94/3.
sustentacion, 190/33.
susteyned, kept supplied, 602/3.
susteynynge, maintenance, 393/21.
sustir, 359/11, cxxiii.
sute, colour of livery of a great household, 23/572.
sute, following up an inquiry, 1/17.
sute, obligation to attend a manorial court, lxi, 42/6, 152/21, 218/27; sutes of courtes, 205/26; sutis, 101/2, 15 : *see* also seutes, sewtes. Hence, in the manorial formula :— sutes, 563/1, 615/22, 623/18; sutis of courtis, 604/1, 605/12.
sute, obligation to the manorial mill, *see* seute.
swerde, 248/15.
sydelich, 475/7.
syht, *see* sight.
syht, I-put in, submitted to judgement of the court, 236/31 : cp. I-put in the lawe, 237/10.
symplenesse, 682/14.
sympul, 18/406.
syne, *see* sine.
synodall, 683/13.
syre, *see* sir.
syth, afterwards, 26/9, 26; sytth, 149/11.

take, to, ambiguity of, cii.
takyng, dimissio, surrender of land, 423/25; lease of land, 492/2.
tallage, 670/18: *read* [s]tallage, *q.v.*
tallagis, 102/17; tallagith, 102/18.
tapsters, tasters of ale and bread, 101/12, 28.
tariinge, delay, 78/220; tariyng, 194/16, 261/8.
tary agayn, *vb. trans.*, to make late, 261/13.
taxid, 608/8.
taxyng, assessment, 416/21.
tayles, 594/27.
team, *see* tol.
tele, to till, 680/21.
telid londis and vntelid, culta et inculta, 33/11, 243/32, a formula.
telth, cultura, a division of an arable field, 215/25; telthe, 225/5, 632/24; telþe, 322/7; tilthe, 304/20, 371/19, 537/11.
telþe, arable land, 611/29.
tempil, applied sense, 5/41.
tempte, to attempt, 676/21.
tempters, assayers, 101/12, 28.
tenauntis, tenants of a manor, 230/28, 564/19, 20.
tenent, tenens, defendant in a lawsuit, 81/7; tenauntis, 507/5.
tenantry, tenauntry, tenementum, the holding not the holder, 149/25, 151/5, 163/11, 196/14, and so frequently; tenawntries, 205/27; tenauntryes, 230/26; tenantryes, 231/29, and so frequently.
tenuris, tenurae, 660/13; tenwrs, 650/5.
terme, to terminate, 89/2.
termys, boundary-marks, 47/18.
territory, 290/4, 568/6.

tesyls, 648/28.
tethe, *tithe*, 43/8; **tethes**, 648/21; **tethys**, 47/36.
tetheman, *decennarius*, tithing-man, 69/1.
than, then, 191/35, 267/12; **þan**, 385/4.
thederyng peny, 665/8; **thedyng peny**, 670/17.
thedir, 206/6.
theft, obligation to make good loss caused by theft, in the privileges formula, 656/10; **theeft**, 665/5, 670/11.
then forth, 316/5; **thensforth**, 317/1.
thirde parte, the widow's, 355/4.
thornys, for fagots, 34/4.
thorow, throughout, 34/5, 607/15, 633/9.
thorptis, 458/8, 28.
þreteninge, 332/27.
thries, 676/22.
thritty, 90/12.
thurgh, throughout, 102/5, 317/6, 602/5.
thurte over, athwart, 501/5, 502/6; in thurte over, 374/21.
tilth, *see* telth.
tithis, 365/15.
Tiwisday, 636/9.
to = 2, two, 81/27, 176/9, 609/21, and *passim*.
to-countid, added in, 166/7.
to-fore, already, 216/17.
tofte of roddys, *virgultum*, osier-bed, 139/17, 679/23; **tyftis of twyggis**, 458/28.
in toftis in croftis, 33/9, 243/31, in conveyance formula.
to-gedir, 55/25, 57/23.
to-hole, *solidé*, 27/17.
toke, past tense of *take*, cii.
toke, past subj. of *take* = should take, 402/21, 403/21.
tol and team, tol and theam, in the privileges formula, 535/23, 650/9, 652/16, 653/29, 656/6, 658/15, 665/5, 670/10.
tol, dues on goods exacted by the king, 659/12, 665/9, 670/18.
tolbowthe, market-house, 645/19; **tolle-bowthe**, 213/3, 646/29, 647/25.
tolne, *multure*, 135/12, 136/1.
too = 2, two, 141/15, 327/3, and *passim*.
to-warenyd, 29/10.
towche, *prepos.*, concerning 97/31: ? in error for towchyng.
towched, concerned, 371/26; **towchyng**, 277/31.
towne, manor, lordship, 151/5, 278/26, 314/19; within the towne and without, 278/19, 555/10, a formula: *see* borough.
transgressions, 637/23.
transulacion, 86/15.
trayne, of a gown, 19/454.
treis, 356/21; **treys**, 317/22.
trentall, intercessory service one month after a death, month's mind, 94/13.
tresorer, 254/25.
trespassed, broke assize, 101/32.
trete, discussion, 368/7.
tretinge, discussion, 167/12, 632/5.
troublyng, interference, 266/19.
trowthe, troth, 65/3; **trouþe**, 430/17.
trowthe-pliht, plighted his troth, 334/13.
turne-ayene, *redire*, to revert, 259/33; **turne agayn**, 416/26.
tway, 315/30; **twayne**, 193/9.
twei, 132/23, 325/27; **tweine**, 136/17, 141/8, 332/2.
twelfyth day, 610/15.
twey, 142/2, 168/8, 169/6, 220/16, 265/12, 351/18, 457/15; **tweyn**, 89/8; **tweyne**, 143/25, 217/3, 636/5.
twiusdai, 167/29.
two, 164/13, 184/17, and *passim*: but also to, too, tway, twei, twey.
twyes, twice, 463/30, 676/22.
twyggis, withies, 458/28.
tyftis, *see* toftis.
tylthe, arable land, 240/5: *see* telth.
tywysday, 147/26.

vnbroke, 178/22, 627/31.
vnbuxumnesse, obstinacy, 2/8.
unch, inch, 495/rubric of no. 667.
vndirstondyng, intending, 267/5.
vndirwodes, 62/2; **vndurwodes**, 232/1.
vndurshreuys, 148/35.
vnhurt, 124/22.
unmed, 48/3.
vnmeuable, *see* mevable.
vnperfite, 562/9.
vnrestfull, disturbed, 674/2.
unryht, wrong, 46/9.
vnsemeli, 633/24.
vntastid, 674/28.
vntelyd, 466/13: *see* telid.
vnwedded, 116/26.
vppon bothe partyes, on behalf of, 320/2: cp. 320/22.
vppon longe of, 201/14.

vsuall money, 553/13.
vsuell termes, 611/6; termes vsuell, 610/28; vsid termes, 481/5; termes vsed, 364/2.
vtas, 99/20, 265/5, &c.
vttemost, 106/10.
vttermost, 204/21.
uttermuste, 632/29.
vtwarde seruice, lxiii, 328/7, 331/27; services vtwarde, 616/10.
vacante, 418/4.
vaile, to be worth, 566/23: *see* vayles, availe.
valentyne, a lady beloved, 14/300, 20/484, 22/554, 23/580; valentynes, 14/303.
valeyntine, a man loving, 14/309.
valour, valor, value, 28/17.
valson, 672/1, 15.
vanytees, 2/25.
varyaunce, dispute, 574/11.
vayles, vaylys, profits, 648/19, 23: *see* vaile.
venelle, 396/14.
veniaunce, vengeance, 43/17.
veray, real, 8/134.
verifie, to prove, 638/9.
versepars, vespers, 19/459.
vesture, clothing, 478/1.
vesture, standing crop, 354/26, 466/27, 568/17; vestures, 568/5.
verry, actual, 566/9.
vexid, sued at law, 136/24.
vexyngis, claims, 356/6.
vicar, vicarius, 649/4, 13; vicare, 565/2; vicarre, 438/33; vicari, 69/4, 24; vicarie, 441/8; vicary, 277/11, 415/7; vycarye, 93/19; vicarijs, 71/21.
vicariage, vicaria, office, or official stipend, 64/27, 71/27, 99/26, 436/22, 649/5; vicary, 580/11, 648/17; vicaragys, 648/14.
vigils, as works of merit, 627/29; vigilis, 605/27.
villenage, lvii, 559/22.
villenagis, lands held in villeinage, 576/18, 579/8; in the manorial formula, 605/8.
visitours, 30/11.
vitaile, 98/10, 576/11; vitayles, 267/5.
voide, implying only change of holder, 333/14.
vowe, votum, oath, 139/11.
vowed, vocavit, called upon, 164/12.
vowed, gave, 163/24: *see* vowry.
vowry, giving, 163/23; dotacio, 'giving,' has been rendered 'dowry' and then corrupted.
vyneyerde, 188/12, 189/33, 191/14, 192/12.
vywe, visus, 607/5: *see* sight.

walke, *vb. reflex.*, 16/362.
warantiȝe, to guarantee, 137/14, and *passim*.
warantiȝe, warranty, 265/13.
warantiȝyng, 163/23, 226/7, and *passim*.
warantyng, giving of warranty, 249/15.
ward, payment to garrison of a castle, 50/14; warde peny, 665/7, 670/16.
ward, wardship, lviii, 42/6, 126/18, 300/5, 6: hence constantly repeated in the manorial formula, wardes, 628/16; wardis, 193/34, 300/14, 363/15, 603/32, 605/10; wardys, 226/2, 559/18, 627/10.
warde, protection, 92/25.
ware, on one's guard, 22/530.
warentyd, 82/4: *see* warantyng.
warenyd, laid to fallow, 29/10.
warison, gersuma, payment made to conclude a bargain, *passim*: warison, 354/26; waryson, 156/28; warisumme, 223/5; warysumme, 222/13.
wast, vastare, to fell the timber of a wood, 240/5.
wast, waste, vastum, destruction of timber of a wood, 317/22, 671/16.
wast, waste, vastum, neglect of repairs, 416/26.
watirs, as conveying rights of fishing, in manorial formula, lxi, 280/26, 316/26, 559/16, &c.
waturde, to be, 181/30.
wayis, *see* weyes.
wed, to perform the marriage ceremony, 1/4.
wedde, to leye to, to mortgage, 456/22.
wedde, to take, to exact security, 155/19.
weddys, securities, 598/7.
weduhod, 320/27.
weiis, *see* weyes.
wele, bene, 245/8, *passim* in the tenure formula.
well, fully, altogether: wele lawfull, 160/14; wel ware, 22/530.
well paide, satisfied, 166/19.
well with, in favour with, 26/8.
welwyller, 25/19.
welwyllyd, consenting, 644/8.
wel wyllynges, bene volentes, well-wishers, 12/241.
welthe, welfare, 652/3, 653/5.

werkes, *see* workes.
wete, wheat, 144/7.
wewes, cxliii.
weys and paths, lxi; *passim* in the manorial formula, in wayes in pathes, 240/22; weijs patthis, 613/18; in weyes in pathes, 75/9; in weys and pathys, 339/6.
whan, 365/3, 578/10, &c.
whansoeuer, 462/12.
whas, was, cv.
whe, we, 148/30.
whenne, whereas, 350/11, 14.
where, since, 25/6.
where, wheras, 193/31.
widewhode, 202/9.
wilful, voluntary, 71/10, 72/26; willefulle, 456/2.
wilfully, with goodwill, 231/10.
wilfulli, voluntarily, 325/7; willefully, 367/15.
wille, assent, 362/10.
willyng, wishing, 88/27.
windemille, 63/15.
wise, ways, fashion, 33/12.
with-drowe, withdrew, 231/16, 304/2.
within and without, *see* borough, burgh, towne.
withouten, 13/263.
withseiyng, opposition, 194/21.
withseyers, opponents, 267/14.
witte, contrivance, 334/15.
in wode and mede, liii, lx, lxi, 33/10, 329/5, in the manorial formula; as also, more frequently, in wode in playne, in bosco, in plano, 82/17, 177/25, 630/20.
wodehous, 318/10.
wodeinsday, 638/2; wodenesday, 612/35; wodinisdai, 333/29; wodynsday, 170/12; wonysday, 206/34.
woke, week, 231/14; wokis, 260/25; wokys, 612/16.
wold, could, 21/521.
wolle, to will, 60/10, 396/26, &c.
woned, consuetum, wonted, 258/31.
wonyd, wont, 33/8.
worch, to work, 8/115; worchyng, 7/100; wurch, 24/598.
workes, repair fund of a church, 342/15, 602/22.
workes, repairs of a church, 87/8.
workes, workings, opera, *corvée* tasks for the manor, lvii; werkes, 318/26, 29; workis, 319/4; workyng, 455/24; *passim* in the manorial formula; werkis, 603/31; workes, 627/10; workyngis, 605/9.
workes, *corvée* tasks for the king, in the privileges formula, 665/6; workynges, 670/14.
worshyp, honour, 25/22.
worshipfully, honorifice, *passim* in the tenure formula, 33/12, 294/27.
worthe, value, 539/17, 608/33.
wowes, cxliii.
writer, 141/3, 457/5.
writte, breve, 206/4, 358/27.
wrongyng, 460/27.
wrothe, 2/16.
wrytyn, writing, 30/13.
wurch, *see* worch.
wydewhode, 205/5.
wyfes, 576/12, 579/3.
wyke, 458/8, 653/22.
wylynesse, 676/9, 681/24.
to wyn or to lese, 159/31: *see* gete.
wyndowe, 402/24.
wyne, 549/15.
wynter or yere, 316/31.
wyntur-corne, hibernagium, 351/23.
wyse or maner, 508/20, 649/21: *see* wise.

y = I, 26/13.
ydul, 9/146.
yelde, auxilium, a payment to the manor made by serf-tenants, 318/24.
yelde, a tax paid to the king, 652/17, 665/4, 666/9.
yelde, reddere, to yield, 105/6, 241/21; yeldyng, 33/13.
yer, year, 138/15; generally yere.
yerd, ambiguous between (i) virga, a rood, quarter-acre, e.g. 54/27, 290/22, 305/32, &c.; (ii) virgata, a virgate, yardland (sixty acres), e.g. yerd of londe, 155/11, 209/3, 290/4; ȝerde of londe, 205/3; yerdis, 191/15, 294/16, &c.
yiftes and helpes, in the manorial formula, 342/11, 343/8: *see* aidis, helpes.
yiftis and scottis, in the privileges formula, 665/5, 670/14.
yle-lande, 572/22.
ylkone, 18/422.
ynche, pollex, 435/3.
yode, past tense of *go*, 530/15.
yuel, 4/25.
yȝe, eye, 369.

þo, those [days], 7/106.
þorgh, through, 8/136, 15/342.
þridde, third, 7/106.

ȝif, if, although, 8/125.

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